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ABSTRACT

This resource unit intended for teachers of secondary grades offers a suggested approach to learning fundamental elements of Chinese culture. The major objective is to provide a structured, factual framework of the forces and the 3,000 years of cultural evolution in which Chinese ideals and institutions developed and contributed to the modern complex society of China, through which students can appraise and understand the people of that country today. Broad generalizations with outlines of suggested content are given in each of the six units that combine all of the social science disciplines emphasizing geography, history, economics, political structure, social fabric and foreign relations. A short epilogue includes a description and short conclusion of the sequence of events pertaining to the "Great Proletarian Revolution" that took place in the 1960's. Special features include the listing of suggested learning activities and discussion topics after each unit; a short glossary; a classified bibliography; and a list of information sources, periodicals, films and filmstrips. Despite changes that may have occurred since the writing of this document, the guide will continue to be a valid and relevant resource. (SJM)

A Resource Unit in World Cultures

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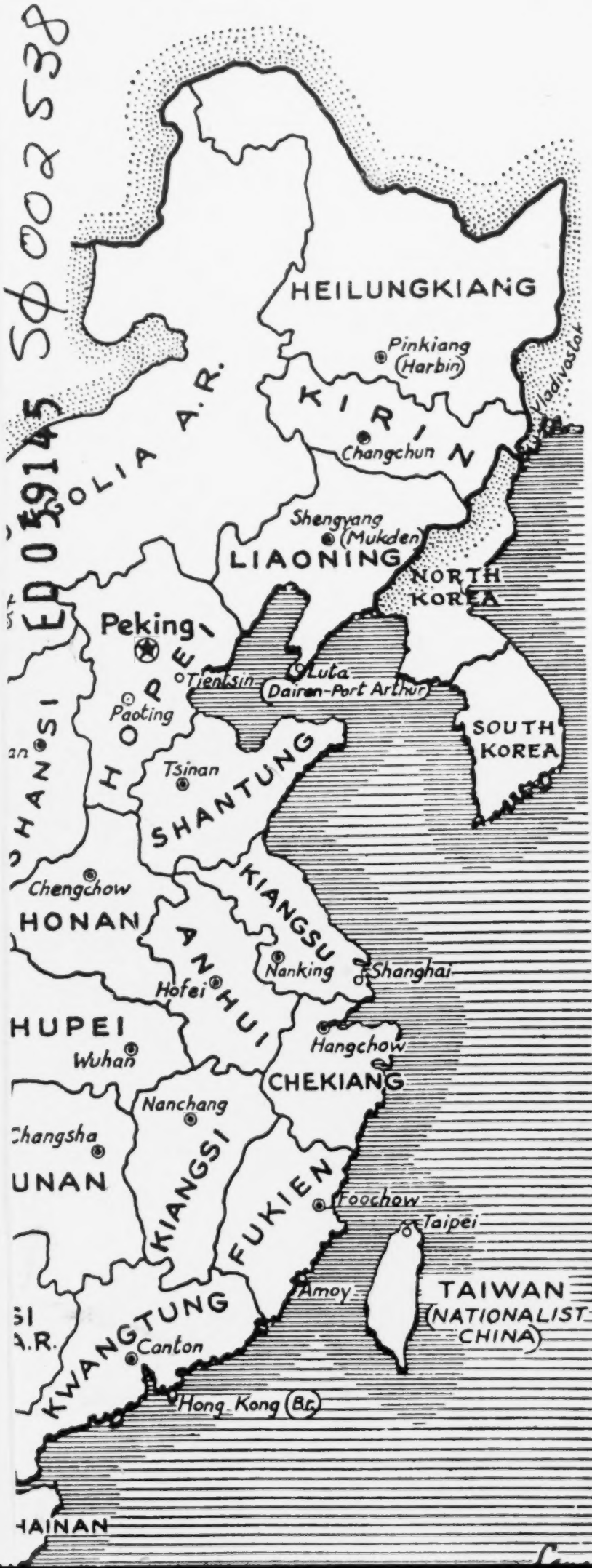

China Today

中華民國

Pennsylvania
Department of Public Instruction
1969

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China Today
A Resource Unit in World Cultures

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A WORD ABOUT TEACHING THIS UNIT

This World Cultures unit, designed for a study of modern China, represents an effort to present a short, yet thorough overview of the fundamental elements of this complex society. It envisions the use of all the social science disciplines to achieve its ends—anthropology, sociology, geography, history, economics, and political science—plus the fields of literature, religion, and the fine arts. The intention is to immerse the student in an unfamiliar culture by making a many-sided analysis of the forces which contribute to its creation, sustenance, and values.

The primary concern is to form an unbiased appraisal and understanding of the people of China as they are *today*. In order to achieve this aim, basic geographical and historical influences are scanned. Those sections dealing with the economic and political structure of China are essentially related to the present. The social fabric is probed in a host of ways which might help to reveal the true nature of the society.

Despite the effort to examine a complex society on a "here-and-now" basis, certain portions of the material may become out-dated—or utterly false—by the march of events with each passing day.

It should be understood that this publication merely represents a suggested approach to the study of a unit in World Cultures. Other approaches may be equally valid or even superior. Since it is axiomatic that there are many paths to truth, no teacher should discard his own proven approach for this one, but those who have been looking for guidance in this area should find the material useful.

Obviously it would be impossible to present a definitive study in such a booklet, so broad generalizations which strike at the heart of each topic have been attempted. Each teacher will probably wish to read widely and supplement this material with findings of his own.

This unit contains three basic features for each of six major areas chosen for analysis. First there are the key generalizations, which are followed by an outline of content significant to their understanding. At the end of each section are numerous activities and discussion topics which might be tried to stimulate interest, to clinch learning, and to probe deeper into the culture. A bibliography of books, pamphlets and audio-visual materials dealing with modern China is also included. Encourage students to begin building a library of their own by purchasing publications appearing under the paperbacked book section. Films and filmstrips should be used liberally to enable as much visual contact as possible with the culture being studied. Every effort should be made to keep abreast of current developments through frequent use of contemporary periodicals.

Finally, one word of caution needs to be made. Since much of the material available on China reflects either Communist or Nationalist viewpoints, teachers should point out to students the value of using several sources. In fact, the teaching of this unit is an opportunity to have students learn to evaluate printed matter with discrimination and logic.

CHINA—PROGRESS AND TURMOIL

"Changeless society", "non-technical orientation", "resource poor"—these and many more phrases have been used to describe China in the past. Recent reappraisal of Communist China must refute these concepts which are based upon limited knowledge and archaic facts. Communist China today is a restless giant experiencing the growing pains of an adolescent on the verge of maturity.

The sweeping changes in traditional social, economic and political patterns have eliminated the concept of unchanging stagnation and backwardness. The stormy period from 1911 to 1949, followed by even more drastic changes to the present, has produced a new society and severed nearly all ties with the past.

Increasing industrialization is being closely followed by increased technical awareness that is filtering through the huge peasant population and creating a large basic labor force. Technical skills are of ancient tradition in China, but applied and theoretical skills have just recently been introduced to the masses, changing their world outlook and giving rise to increasing expectations and national awareness. There is a general sense of pride in accomplishments achieved through technological application and understanding on the part of the peasant as well as the industrial worker. The production of motor vehicles at one factory is not only a major economic achievement but a symbolic "slap in the face" to those who for years have held Chinese technical ability in such low esteem.

Increasing industrialization has led to a search for basic industrial resources with expanding vigor. The results of this search are just now becoming known to the world, but all indications are that China has discovered adequate resources to move into the world of industrial powers. Many years of time and adjustment are necessary before these resources can be fully developed, however, the potential is now there.

Despite the serious turmoil in China today, it should be noted that Communist China has reentered the world of major powers. What the outcome of the current internal struggles will be and who will emerge as Mao's successor must remain speculative today. Regardless of their final solution, it is becoming an urgent necessity that every American student have a fundamental understanding of China today in preparation for his reactions and policies toward China tomorrow.

GLOSSARY

tung	east
hsi or si	west
Nan	south
pei or peh	north
hwang	yellow (Hwang Ho)
ho	river
Kiang	river
ta	big
hsiao	little
Shan	mountain
Ling	hill or mountain
Chou (Chow)	island
Kang (Kong)	port
hsiang (hong)	fragrant
King	capital
Chou	a country
hsien	a district
T'ien	heaven

Examples of use:

Si Kiang	West River
Hwang Ho	Yellow River
NanKing	South Capital
PeKing	North Capital

PART I

Generalizations on the Geography of China

I. Natural geographic barriers have isolated China from the rest of the world throughout most of its history. This has permitted China to develop a culture relatively unaffected by outside influences until recent times.

II. China is the third largest country in the world in area, yet it has difficulty in supporting the world's largest population because of the scarcity of arable land.

III. Patterns of living differ markedly between North and South China. Both have frequently been plagued by natural disasters caused mainly by the climate and topography peculiar to each region.

IV. Chinese civilization has grown and flourished around the great rivers of China.

V. Ocean commerce has not been an important factor in Chinese history even though China has many fine ports and an extensive coastline.

VI. Recent mineral and fuel discoveries, as well as an expanding transportation system, have greatly increased the potential industrial power of China.

VII. The political boundaries of China are constantly changing. China has increased or decreased in size as its power has risen or declined.

Outline of Suggested Content

I. Natural geographic barriers have isolated China from the rest of the world throughout most of its history. This has permitted China to develop a culture relatively unaffected by outside influences until recent times.

A. Geographical features of China that have reduced contacts with other peoples.

1. Mountains

a) In the Southwest is the Himalayan system. These are China's highest mountains. Here also, are the Astin Tagh and Kunlun mountains. This general region contains numerous peaks of approximately 20,000 feet.

b) In the West in Sinkiang Province are the Tien Shan mountains. These extend for 1,000 miles and also have many peaks over 20,000 feet.

c) In the Northwest are the Altai, Tannu Tuva, and the Khangi mountains.

2. Deserts

The principal desert regions of China are found in Mongolia and Sinkiang. These are some of the driest regions on earth.

3. The Pacific Ocean

Until the 19th century, this ocean was an effective barrier to invasion from the east.

B. The northeastern border of China is easy to penetrate. It is into this part of China that invaders have poured. To reduce the threats of invasion in this region the Chinese built the Great Wall of China.

II. China is the third largest country in the world in area, yet it has difficulty in supporting the world's largest population because of the scarcity of arable land.

A. Mainland China has 3,691,502 square miles of territory. Only the Soviet Union and Canada are larger in area.

B. China's population is impossible to estimate accurately. The best estimate would indicate a figure of over 760,000,000 (including 11 million on Taiwan). This represents roughly 25 percent of the world's population.

C. China has limited land resources.

1. Only 11 percent of the land is cultivated (Japan—15%, U.S.—14%).

2. About 10 percent of the land is potentially suitable for plowland.

3. Pasture lands account for 20 percent of total area—8 percent is forested.

4. Approximately 51 percent of the land is useless for agriculture.

D. The fertile areas of China are in the East. Six of every seven Chinese are concentrated into about one-third of the country's area creating a great density of population in these regions (over 400 per square mile).

E. The western part of China has little rainfall, is fiercely cold in winter, and has extremely hot summers. These conditions discourage population growth; consequently this area is very sparsely settled. However, recent mineral discoveries have led to increased settlement of this area.

F. The basic scarcity of good land in China has greatly affected the development of China.

1. China is a country of farmers and rural dwellers. Eighty percent of the population engages in some phase of agriculture.
2. The Chinese are very frugal in their use of available land.
3. The Chinese grow only those crops which will produce the maximum return per acre of land. (These crops will be discussed later).
4. The difficulty of raising enough food for everyone has plagued past regimes and continues to cause trouble for the Chinese Communists.

III. Patterns of living differ markedly between North and South China. Both have frequently been plagued by natural disasters caused mainly by the climate and topography peculiar to each region.

A. China is divided logically into northern and southern regions by the Ch'in Ling Shan mountains.

1. These mountains act as a barrier to monsoon rainfall from the south and to the dust-laden winds from the north.
2. The North is the dry, wind-blown wheat country and the South is the green humid riceland. The North is further divided roughly by the Great Wall into farm and grazing lands.
3. These mountains have divided China into distinct linguistic, ethnic, cultural and political regions with numerous differences.

B. China extends from north to south a distance equal to that from Labrador to Puerto Rico in the Western Hemisphere, and its climate has variations even greater than those found between these two regions.

C. Asian weather patterns give China a climate with much greater fluctuations than that of the Western Hemisphere.

D. The fluctuations in rainfall have caused its people great suffering.

1. In general, South China is humid, North China is subhumid, and Outer (western) China is arid.
2. Rain is carried into China from the east. The mountains of central China block the easy northward movement of precipitation.
3. Rainfall can be very erratic especially in the North. Recurring droughts make this the great famine area of China.
4. Floods have also been a persistent source of trouble. The most frequently flooded area is along the lower Hwang Ho (Yellow River) known appropriately as "China's Sorrow."

E. Typhoons have been a special problem along the southern and central coasts.

IV. Chinese civilization has grown and flourished around the great rivers of China.

A. Four major rivers flow eastward across China. They are, from North to South:

1. The Heilung Kiang or Amur River
2. The Hwang Ho or Yellow River
3. The Yangtze Kiang
4. The Si Kiang or West River

B. There are no important north-south flowing rivers. However, the Grand Canal serves as an artery of transportation in this direction for over 1,000 miles.

C. The Yangtze is China's most important river. Agricultural and industrial development is growing rapidly along its course.

D. Chinese civilization first developed around the Yellow River.

1. This early civilization developed much

as those of the Indus River valley or the Nile valley.

2. The Yangtze River later served to nurture an expanding Chinese civilization that existed even before the founding of Rome.

E. Most of China's large cities lie near or are on its navigable rivers or by the ocean. Some important urban centers are Shanghai, Peking, Tientsin, Hong Kong, Mukden, Canton, Nanking, and Harbin.

V. Ocean commerce has not been an important factor in Chinese history even though China has many fine ports and an extensive coastline.

A. China possesses at least 20 seaports that can provide for ocean-going vessels, yet overseas commerce has been relatively unimportant for China through most of its history.

1. China has concentrated largely on internal development.

2. In the 19th century the Western nations began to penetrate China by way of the east coast and trade expanded considerably in the interest of the Western Powers.

3. Since 1949, China has again looked to its own internal development, although there has been an increasing effort to develop international trade.

VI. Recent mineral and fuel discoveries, as well as an expanding transportation system, have greatly increased the potential industrial power of China.

A. Detailed knowledge of China's mineral resources is lacking. Geological surveys until recently were incomplete especially in the west of China. The new regime has been active in its explorations for resources, but it provides little information on its findings.

B. Latest discoveries indicate that China has ample natural resources for modern industrial development. Coal, oil, and iron ore are becoming increasingly obtainable. Essentially China is a "have" nation on its way to becoming a major industrial power.

C. China's power base

1. China is one of the richest nations of the world in high-grade coal deposits; total absolute figures place China as the second highest producer in the world.

2. China has tremendous potential hydroelectric power.

a) Prior to 1949 this source of energy was largely neglected.

b) Under the Communists extensive projects have begun to develop hydroelectric power, particularly on the Yangtze Kiang.

3. China has several oil-bearing regions with a steadily increasing production. Construction of refineries and transportation facilities are rapidly expanding the value of these regions, many of which are in the remote western provinces.

4. China's greatest source of energy power today, as in the past, is the manual power of her massive labor force which is improving rapidly in "technological ability."

D. China's mineral resources

1. Substantial supplies of iron ore exist in the vicinity of established metallurgical bases.

a) Statistics vary with one set indicating that China is in fourth place in proven iron ore reserves after the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., and India.

b) Three major deposits are located near the metallurgical centers of Anshaw, Wuhan, and Paot'ou.

c) Many of these deposits have an iron content of 40 percent, high by world standards.

2. China has great deposits of other metals necessary for the steel industry.

a) China's deposits of tungsten are enormous with production claimed to be 75 percent of the world's output.

b) Antimony is available in great quantity with China possessing close to 80 percent of the world's deposits.

c) Molybdenum, manganese, copper, zinc, lead, and aluminum are available in sufficient quantities.

E. China's great problem in the past has been the development of transportation facilities

and industrial complexes to make full use of remote resource bases. Relocation of laborers and technicians is being encouraged by the government.

VII. The political boundaries of China are constantly changing. China has increased or decreased in size as its power has risen or declined.

A. Mainland China, controlled by the People's Republic of China, measures approximately 3,691,502 square miles.

B. Mainland China consists of 21 provinces and 5 autonomous regions.

C. Taiwan is claimed as part of China by both the Nationalists and Communists. The major dispute concerns who actually represents the official government of China.

D. Outer Mongolia is an independent country strongly under the influence of the Soviet Union.

E. Much of the present controversy over territorial claims between China and the U.S.S.R. stems from the extensive concessions granted Imperial Russia during a period of Chinese weakness in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Some Suggested Learning Activities

1. On an outline map of the United States, have students superimpose, to approximate scale, a map of China. Have students locate on a globe the latitude of Pennsylvania and their home community in comparison with points of interest in China.
2. Have students draw the current political boundaries of China on an outline map of eastern Asia. On the same map have them locate the basic mountain ranges, the deserts, and have them trace the course of the Yangtze, Amur, and Yellow Rivers.
3. Have a student obtain information and offer a report on the Great Wall of China, its relative success as a barrier to invasions and its relationship to major climatic zones.
4. Have two students prepare reports on how peoples' lives are affected by the differences in climate between North and South China.
5. Discuss the implications of generalization number VII. If Chinese Communist power continues to grow, what are likely to be its territorial ambitions in the light of present-day conditions?
6. Assign a student to gather information about the rivers of China; specifically have a student investigate the importance of the Yangtze.
7. Discuss the question of the similarities of the history of China and the United States in the emphasis both countries have placed on internal development. What trends will be likely for China's future development?
8. Discuss the following question: Should China place great emphasis on the industrialization of its economy?
9. Speculate on the fate of China and the course of history if China did not possess its mountainous frontier.
10. Have students obtain information on typhoons; how these tropical storms behave; and, specifically, how they have affected China.
11. Why is the Yellow River called "China's Sorrow"?

PART II

Generalizations on the History of China

I. Chinese civilization flourished without serious disruption by outside influences for a longer period than any other important civilization in the world.

II. China has been united politically throughout most if its history in the form of an empire ruled by emperors representing many different dynasties.

III. The Mongols and the Manchus were the only non-Chinese people able to invade China and gain complete control. Yet neither of these groups greatly altered the pattern of the existing Chinese society.

IV. The course of Chinese history was drastically changed by the advent of Western imperialism in the 19th century.

V. China in the 20th century is a nation in revolt. The conflicting forces of this troubled age have helped bring into being a regime which is erecting on the rubble of the collapsed old order a new society, vastly different from classical Chinese civilizations.

Outline of Suggested Content

I. Chinese civilization flourished without serious disruption by outside influences for a longer period than any other important civilization in the world.

A. The earliest Chinese civilization of which we have any record was created by a group of rulers called Shang. According to archeological discoveries this early dynasty began about 1500 B.C.

1. The earliest civilization in China appeared approximately 2,000 years later than the early Mediterranean cultures.
2. It was around the Hwang Ho (Yellow River) Valley of Northern China that this early society developed.
3. These early people were skilled in the making of pottery and silk, had a religious system, government, and generally lived by hunting, fishing, and farming.

B. Because of its peculiar geographical situation (see Part I), China escaped most of the periodic invasions by alien groups that, for instance, disrupted Indian history.

1. This isolation permitted the Chinese patterns of life to flourish without major dilution for a period of 3,000 years.
2. Escaping the violent upheavals resulting from cross-cultural conflicts, China managed to perfect its institutions to a high degree of sophistication.
3. Isolated from western civilization, China never experienced the pattern of development of this civilization, and the American student should realize that terms such as *ancient*, *medieval*, and *modern* cannot be used in analyzing Chinese history unless greatly modified.
4. China, until the modern era, never experienced anything so disrupting to its civilization as the fall of the Roman Empire or the split of Christendom despite the cyclical spread and decline of feudalism depending on the strength of the central government.

C. Classical Chinese civilization continued with official sanction until the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911.

1. This collapse occurred when China's rulers were unable and unwilling to adjust to the modern world.
2. Some aspects of classical Chinese civilization persist today even though China is now almost unique among nations in intense effort to break with the past. It is the eradication of this tie with the past that is the goal of the recent Red Guard Movement.

II. China has been united politically throughout most of its history in the form of an empire ruled by emperors representing many different dynasties.

A. The rise and fall of separate distinct dynasties is a recurring cycle in Chinese imperial history.

1. Chinese history (until 1911) may be conveniently subdivided into the history of each of the passing dynasties.
2. The typical pattern of the rise and fall of a particular dynasty is as follows:
   a) A period of disorder exists because a weak central government presided over by an incompetent or corrupt ruler is unable or unwilling to provide the necessary leadership.
   b) Various warlords arise in different regions contesting the power of the central regime.
   c) Economic disorder or natural calamity produce frustration and hardship for the local peasantry. Both peasants and local leaders are conditioned to give their support to a new regime which seems to bring order out of chaos.
   d) Out of this chaos a new leadership appears—usually a great warrior or scholar who senses the needs of the population and with the support of the masses overthrows the old decadent order.
   e) Once the machinery of the central government is seized by this new leadership, the nation usually experiences an era of efficient rule, justice, and even a flowering of science and culture.
   f) This era of prosperity and peace lasts as long as the emperor remains vigorous. But leadership passes from generation to generation, and it is inevitable that less gifted emperors come to power. Incompetency, dishonesty and loss of contact with the peasants result and disorder grows. The dynasty finally reforms or collapses.
   g) Throughout the history of China this cycle has repeated itself. How long any one dynasty ruled depended upon its inherent capacity to rule. It is important to realize that the traditional view of life in China was not one of progress in a straight line as in the West, but a cyclical view of history.
   h) The rise and fall of these dynasties should not obscure the genius of the Chinese for perpetuating a sound system of government without major change for over 3,000 years. Emperors came and went; yet a familiar pattern of governmental institutions prevailed.

B. Certain dynasties stand out in the long view of Chinese history because of the significance of their accomplishments. Space does not permit discussion here of major events in each dynasty. In later sections reference will be made to these eras.

1. The Chou (1028 B.C.-221 B.C.)
   a) Three of China's greatest philosophers and teachers lived in this era: Confucius, Mencius, and Lao-tse.
   b) By the end of the Chou and the Han period (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), the value system of Chinese culture was largely established.
   c) This value system was based on the Confucian view of life which will be discussed later.
   d) China existed as a unified state not through feelings comparable to modern nationalism but because of the loyalty of people to the Confucian ideal.
2. The Ch'in Empire (221 B.C.-206 B.C.) In this brief period a strong ruler broke the power of feudal lords, completed the Great Wall, and organized the imperial system of officials which lasted until 1911.
3. The Han Empire (206 B.C.-220 A.D.)
   a) This empire was sometimes called the Roman Empire of the East.
   b) Official doctrines of the state derived from Confucianism.
   c) Examination system for choosing civil servants started.
   d) Important military conquests were made in the north, west and south.

e) Buddhism was introduced into China.

f) Chinese like to refer to themselves as the "sons of Han."

4. T'ang Dynasty (618 A.D.-906 A.D.)
   a) Area of China increased.
   b) Arts flourished.
   c) Golden Age of Buddhism.
5. The Ming Dynasty (1368 A.D.-1644 A.D.)
   a) Age marked by prosperity.
   b) Interest in traditional Chinese culture revived.
   c) Science and medicine became very important.
   d) Europeans sent first missionaries: Francis Xavier, and Matteo Rici.
6. In summary, from the time of the Han dynasty to about the 18th century, China was as technically advanced or even more so than the West. Sample achievements of its technology were silk making, paper, printing, use of printed money, gunpowder, compass, abacus, porcelain, and use of coal.

III. The Mongols and the Manchus were the only non-Chinese people able to invade China and gain complete control. Yet neither of these groups greatly altered the pattern of the existing Chinese society.

A. The Mongols.

1. In 1260 Kublai Khan, grandson of Ghenghis Khan, set up the Yuan dyasty that lasted 100 years and destroyed the decaying Sung dynasty.
2. This Mongol dynasty attempted an unsuccessful invasion of Japan.
3. The rulers did not upset Chinese institutions; instead they themselves were converted to Chinese ways.
4. Marco Polo came to China during this era.

B. The Manchus (Ch'ing Dynasty)

1. This was one of China's longest dynasties, lasting from 1644 to 1911.
2. Manchus were non-Chinese warriors from Manchuria.
3. Under the early Manchu rulers, China was a powerful, prosperous country that extended its control as far as Mongolia, Tibet, Sinkiang and Annam; Nepal and Burma paid tribute to the Manchus. For example, K'ang Hsi, a contemporary of Louis XIV and Peter the Great, was at least their equal in his capacity to rule, his learning, and his general concern for matters of state. He initiated many public works and promoted culture.
4. The later Manchu rulers were less effective.
5. Despite the brilliance of the early Manchu rule Chinese ways were not greatly changed, nor did this period see the originality in cultural achievement of the Han, T'ang, or Sung periods.

C. The large mass of Chinese population, organized along strict and traditional social lines, was capable of "absorbing" the relatively small numbers of invaders with little change in the total pattern of life.

IV. The course of Chinese history was drastically changed by the advent of Western imperialism in the 19th century.

A. The cultural ethocentrism of classic Chinese civilization caused the Chinese to look upon themselves as the Middle Kingdom and upon outsiders as barbarians. Chinese pride, always strong, kept China isolated from Western influence. Prior to the 19th century contacts between China and the West were limited. Those worthy of mention are

1. Marco Polo's trips—13th century.
2. Western Missionaries—16th century.
3. Limited trade contacts in the late 18th century.

B. The 19th century was an age of Western imperialism in China.

1. This imperialistic rivalry among Western nations was an outgrowth of the Industrial Revolution.
2. The same industrial technology which made nations seek colonies and commercial privileges in Asia also made it difficult for a technologically backward nation such as China to resist European intervention.
3. China, unaffected by the earlier imperialistic activity of Europe in the 15th,

16th and 17th centuries, was not so fortunate in the 19th century.

4. The nature of Western imperialistic endeavors in China was primarily commercial. No Western power tried to "conquer" China. Rather each nation sought to obtain more favorable concessions from the Chinese than the next. Finally, China was forced to yield to Western nations special concessions which significantly impinged upon its rights as a sovereign nation.
   a) A series of so-called "unequal treaties" was forced upon China which granted to various Western nations such special privileges as extraterritoriality, tariff concessions, abandonment of import restrictions, use of ports, and the principle of the most favored nation.
   b) By 1900 China was so greatly exploited by Western powers as to be in danger of being completely "gobbled up" by both the West and Japan.

C. This crisis created by Western intervention came at the same time that China had been weakened internally by the decay of the Manchu dynasty.
   1. The years of soft living had weakened the fibre of the dynasty.
   2. China in the 19th century was racked by a series of internal revolts of which the Taiping Rebellion was the most important.

D. In the last decade of the 19th century China experienced a series of blows that were to rock the Manchu regime to its foundation.
   1. Sino-Japanese War (1894-5).
   2. Renewal of Western demands for leaseholds.
   3. Reactionary leadership on the part of the Manchu ruler—the Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi.
   4. Boxer Rebellion (1900).
   5. Russo-Japanese War which was fought on Chinese soil (1904-5).

E. Only rivalries among the great powers saved China from total dismemberment. These rival nations accepted the United States Open Door Policy as a convenient way to avoid the power struggle in China for the time being.

F. The Western nations brought to China knowledge of Western philosophy and technology on a scale never before experienced by China. These Western ideas presented the first serious challenge to Chinese civilization since the beginning of the imperial rule before the time of Christ.

G. China suffered most of the disadvantages of foreign intervention: dislocation of the old order; loss of face; and restrictions in sovereignty without experiencing the benefits of formal colonization that Great Britain, for instance, brought to India.

V. China in the 20th century is a nation in revolt. The conflicting forces of this troubled age have helped bring into being a regime which is erecting on the rubble of the collapsed old order a new society, vastly different from classical Chinese civilizations.

A. China, like most of the world in this century, has been greatly affected by the following forces:
   1. Nationalism
      a) Modern nationalism was late in coming to China. The Boxer Rebellion was one of the earliest manifestations of nascent Chinese nationalism reacting to the heavy-handed Western influences of the late 19th Century.
      b) The Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War, the poor treatment of China at the Versailles peace conference, and the American restrictive immigration legislation all intensified the bitterness of the Chinese at the weaknesses of China and the resultant denigration of China by world powers. These feelings helped accelerate the growth of nationalism.
      c) Sun Yat-sen, China's great revolutionary patriot, made nationalism one of the main principles of his famous *(San Min Jui I)* program. He helped to promote the idea of nationalism in the Western sense.

d) After the collapse of the Manchu dynasty in the Revolution of 1912, China no longer had the imperial system to unify China. Nationalism had to fill the vacuum. The political chaos of the early days of the Republic indicates how slow and painful were the steps to the development of a real feeling of nationalism in all sections of China.

2. Democracy
   a) Sun Yat-sen was educated along Western lines at Hong Kong. He became a Christian and was committed to the ideals of the modern world.
   b) He preached the idea that democracy should be reached in three stages: (1) a party pledged to democracy must win military control of the whole of China; (2) the people must be educated for self-government first, through the creation of local units of government by the democratic process; and (3) a central democratic government must be created. No time schedule was attached to this plan.
   c) Democratic government in the Western sense never did operate in China, and today the country called the People's Republic of China is a totalitarian regime much on the dictatorial pattern (stage 1) as seen by Sun Yat-sen.
   d) Attempts to establish democratic government failed: (1) when Sun Yat-sen's republic collapsed and a military figure, Yuan Shih-k'ai, usurped power; (2) when Sun Yat-sen died in 1926 before he was able to unite China; and (3) when Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist regime, nominally democratic, spent most of its energies fighting the Communists and Japanese.

3. Industrialism
   a) The third point of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary program was called the "People's Livelihood." Recognizing the underdeveloped nature of China's industry and agriculture as compared with the West, he made far-reaching plans to modernize the Chinese economy.
   b) His grandiose economic program of reform never came about because the billions of dollars of capital it would have required, even if he had been capable of carrying out his plans, were not available.
   c) The underdeveloped nature of China in the early days of the 20th century made economic reform a problem of massive proportions.
   d) The major industries that did develop in China in the 1920's and 1930's were in the coastal areas and in Manchuria, regions that the Japanese seized in the war with China.
   e) Little was done to relieve the economic problems of the peasants until the early reforms of the present regime which has capitalized on unified mass effort and self-reliance (the concept of Tzu-li Keng Sheng).

4. Communism
   a) After the Chinese Communist party was founded in 1921, Mao Tse-tung quickly rose to prominence as its leader.
   b) Sun Yat-sen's Party, the Kuomintang, was modeled after the Russian Communist party and until 1926 the Communists were permitted to remain in the Kuomintang.
   c) In 1927 a struggle developed within the Kuomintang and an open split developed. This resulted in civil war for over twenty years between the Kuomintang led by Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists led by Mao Tse-tung.
   d) During this struggle the Communists at times controlled important parts of northwest and north China. They did not "just suddenly appear" at the end of World War II, as some may believe.
   e) The triumph of the Communists over the Kuomintang in 1949, requiring the latter group to flee to Taiwan, was the result of complex forces related to two fundamental

points: (1) Mao Tse-tung's "New Democracy" program seemed like an attractive alternative to a people racked by twenty years of war, privation, and disorder; and (2) Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang failed to eliminate or correct the evils characteristic of postwar China. Consequenty, Chiang Kai-shek and his regime, rightly or wrongly, were blamed by the Chinese masses for all that was wrong in China in the 1940's.

f) Since 1949 the Communists have been remaking China on a massive scale with the most wide-ranging effects in the entire history of the nation.

B. Mao Tse-tung is not just another warlord who has come into power; his regime is reshaping the entire Chinese civilization according to a Western ideology—communism, modified to meet the peculiar needs of China as he understands them.

C. Nationalist China continues to control Taiwan, and this regime vows its intention to regain control of the mainland.

1. The Chinese Nationalists claim that they are the legitimate rulers of China. Their feeling, that the Communists are traitors in the hire of the Soviets, makes sense if it is viewed from a Chinese Nationalist viewpoint. The history of China is a history filled with situations similar to those which exist today—a majority and a minority regime competing with each other for support of the masses. In the struggle between these two regimes the power of the Chinese Nationalists should not be ignored, for they possess today far greater resources than did the Communists in the 1930's, when theirs was the minority regime.
2. Only time will tell what the future holds for the two Chinas. Analysts who wishfully predict rapid disappearance of the mainland government should recall how the Soviet regime survived the 1920's and 1930's in spite of famine, civil war, party disputes, and the hostility of most of its neighbors.

Some Suggested Learning Activities

1. Investigate the facts related to the finding of the famous Peking Man, one of the earliest specimens of prehistoric man.
2. Prepare maps or a map with overlays showing the extent of China during the Shang, Ch'in, Han, T'ang, Yuan, Ming, and Manchu dynasties.
3. Have each student, after individual research, summarize on a chart the major achievements of the separate dynasties of China.
4. Discuss the following questions: What conditions contribute to the collapse of a political regime? A nation? A civilization? Select from Chinese history material relating to the fall of the Manchu dynasty and the collapse of the Nationalist regime to provide background for the discussion.
5. Have a student report on the political organization of imperial China. This report should emphasize its similarities with the present political system and its differences.
6. If possible, place on reserve in the library for student use, books quoting extensively Marco Polo's experiences in China. What effect on China did Marco Polo's travels have?
7. Compare and contrast the conditions and the circumstances which resulted in the opening of China and Japan by the West.
8. Have students gather information to support the following statement: The Chinese Communist Revolution dates back to 1921 and is not an event occurring only in 1948-49.
9. Have all students prepare thorough biographical sketches of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung. On the basis of this common preparation discuss the impact of these men on recent Chinese history. What similarities and differences do they possess? Assess their relative importance.
10. Have individual students report on the following highlights in recent Chinese history: Boxer Rebellion; The Long March of the Communists to Yenan; The 1931 Japanese invasion of Manchuria and world reaction; The role of China in World Wars I and II.
11. Analyze the American Open Door Policy. How successful was it?
12. Investigate the role the United States played in China from 1945 to 1949. Why i his period of American-Chinese relations so c oversial?

13. Discuss the following question: To what extent is the hostile regime in China today the historical outgrowth of the Western interventions of the 19th and 20th centuries?
14. Why was it difficult to establish a democracy in China? What conditions must be present in a country before democracy can truly operate?
15. How has the history of Communist take-over in China violated Marxist teaching and departed from classic communist theory?

PART III

Generalizations on the Economy of Communist China

I. China today has a totalitarian, state-operated, centralized economic system which is more regimented and more collectivized than that of the Soviet Union.

II. Because of central planning the Chinese economy has developed since 1949 along the lines of a rather clearly defined predetermined program in which distinct phases can be noted.

III. China's rapid population growth has created a situation of perpetual crisis in China, and the fate of the Communist regime eventually will rest on its ability to come to terms with this problem.

IV. The Chinese Communists have failed to solve China's agricultural problems. The regime has now rejected its former hard Marxist-Stalinist line, and is de-emphasizing the farm communes in an attempt to restore order to the disturbed and disrupted agricultural economy.

V. An analysis of the assets and liabilities inherent in Communist China's economy leads many observers to the conclusion that the people are gaining a great sense of pride in their "self-reliance" and, with the lessening of extreme pressures resulting from the Great Leap Forward, have found greater personal satisfaction than in the past few years.

Outline of Suggested Content

I. China today has a totalitarian, state-operated, centralized economic system which is more regimented and more collectivized than that of the Soviet Union.

A. The old China, prior to 1949, was an industrially backward underdeveloped agricultural society in which most economic functions were performed by families, partnerships or guilds.

1. China was still in the handicraft stage of development when the Western nations intervened in China in the 19th century.
2. In the 20th century the industry that did develop was extensively dominated by foreign influence.
3. The Imperial and Nationalist governments followed basically *laissez-faire* economic policies.
4. In 1949 China was still a nation made up predominantly of farmers.
5. Conditions in China between 1945-1949 were very chaotic. The economy had largely collapsed as a result of 20 years of war.

B. In 1949 the Chinese Communists launched their economic revolution. The new regime had as its goal not a program of reform but a complete reorganization of China's economy.

1. Mao Tse-tung, leader of the new regime, had long advocated the need for moderate land reform and nationalization of key industries in his book, *On New Democracy*.
2. Once in power the Communists proved that they were authentic Marxists and not mere agrarian reformers. They acted on the precept that China's gigantic problems could be solved only by creating a centralized, collectivized state-operated economic system.
3. The goal of the new regime was to develop China quickly into a powerful, modern state. This was to be accomplished by the industrialization and the socialization of China.
4. The speed of this new regime is manifested by the following statistics:
   By 1957, 99 percent of China's industry was state-owned, and 97 percent of China's farmland was state-owned. The State carried out this program by strict rationing, forced labor, forced migration, and a totally mobilized population.
5. In trying to turn China into an industrial society the Communists took a fairly self-sufficient economy and made

it dependent upon the Soviet Union for capital goods and raw materials. At the same time the Chinese Communists alienated the Western nations, thus making themselves even more dependent upon the Soviet Union.

C. Those who have visited China since 1949 testify that the economic power of the State is unlimited, its activity ubiquitous, and that the face of China is undergoing a vast remaking. Those familiar with the old China, it is said, would not recognize much of the new China.

1. Gone are the bargaining, haggling, sharp-witted merchants who tried to get the highest possible price from their victims. Now prices are set by the State and merchants acquiesce.
2. Railroads now run on time, but most trains have loudspeakers which blare out to passengers the Communist party "line" (generally ignored by the passengers).
3. People are better-dressed, but everyone wears the same blue cotton clothes that create the image of citizenry in uniform.

II. Because of central planning the Chinese economy has developed since 1949 along the lines of a rather clearly defined predetermined program in which distinct phases can be noted.

A. The Rebuilding Period, 1949-1952.

1. The first goal of the Communists was the rehabilitation of the inherited economy. Full socialization was delayed. Existing factories were rebuilt, transport was repaired, trade was revived, and inflation was ended. (All this was done during the Korean War.)

B. The First Five-Year Plan, 1953-1957

1. China, adopting the Stalinist system of five-year plans, officially launched its program of full socialization and industrialization with its First Five-Year Plan in 1953. By the end of 1955 China's economy was expanding at unprecedented rates, and a new order was rapidly being brought into being.
2. The Chinese copied the design of their First Five-Year Plan right out of the Stalinist book. Special emphasis was placed on heavy industry.
   a) High levels of state investment resulted in enforced consumer austerity.
   b) Chinese workers were goaded into a new world of socialist competition. In this Orwellian world the regime issued a continual flow of statistics designed to encourage and demonstrate progress.
   c) The Communists received much technical assistance and large quantities of capital goods from the Soviet Union. Communist China had to pay for this assistance.
3. The First Five-Year Plan was a success. There was rapid growth. Statistics are very unreliable, yet it is estimated China's economy grew in this period at a rate of seven or eight percent.
   a) Industries expanded in existing centers such as Shanghai and Tientsin. New industries appeared in more remote areas.
   b) Officials began to talk of surpassing Britain and Japan in industrial production.
   c) Agricultural progress was less spectacular.

C. The Great Leap Forward, 1958-1960.

1. This followed the First Five-Year Plan. The radicals in the regime argued that the earlier successes indicated the capacity to do even better (even though 1957 was a year with little improvement over 1956). They won their point and a period of forced draft expansion was launched based on the total mobilization of the entire population. This plan was preceded by a period of intense, emotional propagandizing.
   a) Unprecedented growth rates were projected and unrealistic targets were established.
   b) The development of small-scale industry was pushed throughout rural China. This was the day of the backyard iron furnace.
   c) Projects were based upon the use of maximum of physical labor and a

minimum of capital. (China was no longer receiving large-scale aid from the Soviet Union.)

d) Communes were organized in agriculture.

e) The population was worked to the point of exhaustion. The Communist regime had to caution Party cadre to allow peasants enough time for sleep.

2. The Great Leap Forward was a big failure.

a) Government planning broke down when the national statistical system collapsed. Cadre, to win praise or to escape purging, reported production that in some cases did not exist. (One example is of a large coal mine that oversubscribed its production quotas by sending to mills coal shipments consisting of numerous 100-pound boulders.)

b) Many of the small industries proved to be too inefficient to operate. The backyard furnaces were abandoned as they were using much needed fuel and producing poor quality iron.

c) Serious bottlenecks developed in transportation.

d) Overworked peasants dragged their feet.

e) The communes failed to work as planned.

f) 1959 was a year of floods and droughts.

3. The gross national product in 1958 grew at an estimated rate of 17 to 18 percent; yet by 1961 it was down to less than four percent.

4. China had experienced an economic depression as a result of poor and radical planning at a time when she could poorly absorb such a setback.

D. The Current Period.

1. Since 1961 the Communist regime has shifted its emphasis from developing industry to expanding agricultural production. The pressure is off. The regime is apparently trying to recoup from the dislocations of the Great Leap Forward.

2. Many industries are closed down for repair and renovation. A shortage of raw materials has developed.

3. Industries producing goods for agriculture have been given priority.

III. China's rapid population growth has created a situation of perpetual crisis in China, and the fate of the Communist regime eventually will rest on its ability to come to terms with this problem.

A. Too many people.

1. The first official government census of 1954 indicated that there were over 600,000,000 Chinese. The best estimate today indicates a figure of over 750,000,000.

2. An estimated annual population growth rate of over two percent a year adds about 14 million more to the population each year.

a) Four or five million a year are added to the labor force; industry, however, can absorb fewer than two million a year.

b) Cities and towns are bulging at the seams. The countryside (where settled) is already the most densely populated on earth.

B. In 1957 the regime took steps to encourage birth control. Its efforts were crude; it alienated many people; and after eight months the policy was dropped in the euphoria which the Great Leap Forward generated.

C. The regime, after the failure of the Great Leap Forward, is reportedly again taking steps to promote birth control. That the Mao regime would again adopt such a policy indicates, as one wag put it, "On the good ship Politburo Captain Marx is now under restraint, if not in irons, and gaunt and hungry Captain Malthus is back on the bridge."

D. The agricultural failures of the early 1960's produced serious malnutrition and political discontent.

1. Communist China has had to use valuable foreign exchange to purchase grain from non-Communist nations.

2. Starvation or widespread famine, however, are absent in China for the totalitarian government is capable of shifting supplies quickly and efficiently enough to forestall the worst calamities. This mobility of resources is a result of a much expanded transportation system.

IV. The Chinese Communists have failed to solve China's agricultural problems. The regime has now rejected its former hard Marxist-Stalinist line, and is de-emphasizing the farm communes in an attempt to restore order to the disturbed and disrupted agricultural economy.

A. Since the 1917 Russian Revolution most Communist regimes have been plagued by agricultural problems. China is no exception.

1. The Chinese Communist agricultural policies of collectivization and communization of the land were adopted after the Soviets themselves had modified this approach to farm problems.

2. China had agricultural problems long before 1949, and the rapid growth of population has only intensified the problem.

3. The seriousness of the problem is great for eight out of every ten Chinese depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Increasing urbanization is intensifying the critical nature of food supply and distribution.

B. The First Five-Year Plan neglected agriculture. In the blind haste to industrialize, the regime did not keep agricultural problems in proper perspective, and agricultural reforms lagged.

C. Collectivization of the agricultural economy was from the beginning the goal of the Communist regime.

1. The State established its control over agriculture immediately by the rationing of grain.

2. Peasants were pressured to join various types of farm organizations so they could be propagandized on the virtues of the new collectivized order.

3. Land reform was instituted to destroy the powerful land owners who in previous eras had dominated local affairs. This produced a period of violent class conflict. Land was parceled out to peasants.

4. In 1955-56 the regime organized the peasants into approximately 750,000 collective farms. These were called "higher stage agricultural collectives." In this program the various functions of planting and harvesting were operated on an interfarm and regional basis.

5. Late in 1958 the first experimental farm commune was organized. Eventually 26,000 communes were established.

a) The commune performed every function in its area including industry, agriculture, commerce, finance, education, and military training.

b) Communal living in barracks was pushed. Peasants no longer retained ownership of individual land. A military-type leadership directed the labor of the commune without concern for the welfare of individuals.

c) The purposes of the communes were to accelerate progress toward the ultimate goal of a complete communist society and liberate surplus labor for "capital" investment in public works projects, part of the Great Leap Forward.

d) In the communes the peasants were treated like privates in an army. They were denied the possibility of personal improvement from their labors. All sacrifices were to strengthen the State rather than to ameliorate their own deprived circumstances. Inevitably the peasants, overworked and frustrated, began to reduce production. Agricultural production in 1960 fell to 1958 levels. Yet there were at least 20 million more Chinese to feed. Recognizing its failure, the regime in 1961 began to de-emphasize the communes. Participation in communal activity is now voluntary and many of the functions of the commune have been shifted to other groups.

6. The basic question of how to increase farm production in a socialist regime remains unsolved; meanwhile, natural disasters have produced crop failures at the same time the communal effort failed. All this created an atmosphere of crisis for the regime—the greatest since its founding.
7. Present policies are improving the situation but agriculture remains on the critical list.
   a) Extensive and practical irrigation projects have taken precedence over spectacular hydro-electric projects.
   b) Chemical fertilizers, plants and seed research centers are gradually improving the productive capacity of the land.
   c) Greater production per acre as well as expansion into marginal lands seems to be the hope of the administration.
   d) Increased transportation facilities have made use of distant lands in the west more feasible as a support base for the eastern urban centers.

V. An analysis of the assets and liabilities inherent in Communist China's economy leads many observers to the conclusion that the people are gaining a great sense of pride in their "self-reliance" and, with the lessening of extreme pressures resulting from the Great Leap Forward, have found greater personal satisfaction than in the past few years.

A. Present economic assets.

1. The regime has a sense of direction, a set of goals, and the totalitarian control to carry out its plans.
2. China's coal supplies and hydro-electric power potential provide unlimited sources of electric power.
3. Recent discoveries have significantly expanded the mineral and fuel resource base. (See Part I.)
4. China's transport and communication are for the first time in its history unified and operating efficiently.
5. An unlimited supply of manpower exists.
6. The Soviet Union is still a source of economic support even though it no longer provides large-scale aid.
7. Because of its former undeveloped status and its Asian setting, China does not have to create living conditions comparable to those in the West to placate its people. The demands for a better life must always be understood to be relative, and China does not have to match Western standards of living to be a leader in Asia, a position toward which she is rapidly moving.

B. Present economic liabilities.

1. The Communists inherited an extremely underdeveloped economy; therefore, they have had enormous handicaps to overcome.
   a) In 1960 it was estimated China had only 24,500 miles of railroad track of which 40 percent was located in Manchuria. This total is equal to about 1/10 of that in the United States.
   b) Highways are still inadequate. Geographical barriers make road building very expensive.
   c) Prior to 1941 industry amounted to only 10 percent of the gross national product. A comparison of the amount of machinery per capita is interesting. If northwestern Europe had been given a unit value of 100, and the United States 400, China in 1939 would have rated 1.
2. China's huge population is a liability as well as an asset. Food needs are constantly expanding and industry has difficulty absorbing the increase in the labor supply.
3. There is an acute shortage of capital.
   a) Much of China's industrial progress to date can be attributed to the combination of Soviet assistance, utilization of previously existing industrial capacity, the expropriation of private industries, and the austerity forced upon the people.
   b) New sources of capital for future development must be found. At the present time industry is benefiting

from the "drive" of the people, who for the first time in their history have had the incentive to improve their conditions by their own efforts if even in a collective sense.

4. Political tension between the two Chinas and the Western world necessitates heavy expenditures for the armed forces.
5. China has serious problems in agriculture.
6. The split in Chinese leadership between the radicals and the moderates partially negates the asset of a centralized government and economic planning.
7. The governmental bureaucracy has serious deficiencies. It is especially handicapped by the difficulty in gathering statistical data and in establishing unified leadership.
8. China has a continuing problem of deficits in its international balance of payments.
   a) In 1960 China owed its best customer, the Soviet Union, $300,000,000; this is the difference in value of its imports over its exports in Sino-Soviet trading.
   b) Food purchases from Australia and Canada have intensified this problem.

C. This analysis of China's assets and liabilities must be viewed within an understanding of the Chinese mentality. The Chinese are materialistically minded, especially so for Asians. Their past culture has always emphasized the importance of well-being in this world; the hereafter, heaven, or another existence after death has not loomed large in the Chinese view. The peasants traditionally have judged a regime on its ability to meet their current essential material needs.
   1. When the Communists improved the life of the peasants in North China before they came to power, they were acting in the best Chinese traditions and greatly facilitated their takeover.
   2. Paradoxically, however, the Communist goal of transforming China into a great industrial power overnight threatens the actual survival of the Communist regime unless it can accomplish its goal and simultaneously improve the well-being of the peasants. Often it is the spectacular industrial project that has more appeal in this respect than much needed, small-scale improvements.

Some Suggested Learning Activities

1. Assign several members of the class a research project on agricultural production in China. Have them find out what kind of crops are grown, where they are grown, relative importance, and any other pertinent data. Two good sources for this information are George B. Cressey, *Land of the 500 Million,* McGraw-Hill Company, New York, 1955 and Victor P. Petrov, *China: Emerging World Power,* Van Nostrand, Princeton, 1967.
2. Investigate the effect of Western imperialism in undermining the traditional Chinese economy.
3. Have four students debate the following resolution: "Resolved, it is an inherent characteristic of human nature to desire to own private property and to benefit from its ownership." Have opposing teams select their arguments from recent Chinese history.
4. Develop in a class discussion the arguments for and against a highly centralized program of economic planning by a large underdeveloped nation such as China. A good source of ideas is Barbara Ward, *The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations,* W. W. Norton Co., New York, 1962.
5. Have students analyze the relative degree of success of India and China in meeting rather similar economic problems with quite contrasting economic systems. (See Barbara Ward, *India and the West,* W. W. Norton Co., New York, 1961.)
6. Discuss whether the United States should send surplus grain products to Communist China.
7. Investigate the role Hong Kong and Macao play in the economic life of Communist China: Why have the Communists not seized these ports?
8. Discuss why the industrial revolution was late in coming to China. What effect did this late arrival produce on the development of China?

9. Discuss the implications of the famous dictum: "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely" in the light of recent Chinese economic history.

10. Gather information from current periodicals on flood control and conservation projects in China. What effects will these projects have on the Chinese economy in the near future?

11. Assign a student to report on Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834) and his theories on population problems. Have the student assess these theories and their applicability, if any, to the present population problems of China.

12. Have the class analyze the degree to which the economies of the Soviet Union and Communist China are complementary. Assess the implications of these findings.

13. Compare and contrast the agricultural problems of the United States and Communist China. What conditions or factors create the problem of overabundance on one hand and the problem of scarcity on the other?

PART IV

Generalizations on the Political Structure of Communist China

I. In theory, Communist China is a constitutional democracy with representative government. In fact, real political power resides in the Communist Party and its important leaders.

II. The Chinese Communist Party has made itself the master over 750,000,000 people by the skillful use of the most massive and elaborate system of thought control, propaganda and psychological pressure ever implemented in a large nation.

III. Theoretically, political subdivisions in Communist China have large degrees of autonomy. In reality, the central regime controls all subdivisions to the extent necessary to carry out its will.

IV. The political struggle between the two Chinas will continue to be an important world problem as long as the Soviet Union and the United States each supports one of the opposing regimes. (Note that the Soviet Union is increasingly concerned with the strong nationalistic and expansionistic policies of the People's Republic.)

Outline of Suggested Content

I. In theory, Communist China is a constitutional democracy with representative government. In fact, real political power resides in the Communist Party and its important leaders.

A. The Communists have gone to great efforts to create the belief that their government is democratic.

1. They have a written constitution (1954) which provides that all legislative and executive power shall be placed in the hands of elected assemblies.
2. All citizens can vote at the age of eighteen.
3. Many freedoms are specifically guaranteed in their constitution even though they are restricted when it is in the best interest of the government.
4. Every opportunity is taken by the regime to emphasize that Communist China is a People's Democracy.

B. Communist China is really an oligarchy ruled by a handful of all-powerful Communist Party officials.

1. The Party controls the political machinery of government, the military forces, and many other important organizations.
2. The Communist Party gains its strength, not from its membership of over 12,000,000, but rather from its rigid discipline, its centralized character, and its selectiveness in admitting new members.
3. The power of the Communist Party is perpetuated by constant indoctrination and periodic purges. Also, the masses have been conditioned to accept the Party as the sole source of truth and accept it as a unifying element.

C. The organization of the Communist Party in China is modeled after that of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union.

1. The basic Party unit is called the cell. There are hundreds of thousands of cells throughout China found in villages, factories and army units. The Party depends on the small membership of the local cell to carry out its directives.
2. Above the level of the cell are regional congresses and committees. Each province has its Provincial Party Congress.
3. At the national level is the National Party Congress which consists of about 1,000 Party members. The National Party Congress usually meets annually. When it is not in session a Central Committee of 97 regular and 96 alternate

members carries on Party affairs. The Central Committee elects a chairman who is the most powerful person in China. Mao Tse-tung is now chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

4. Above the Central Committee are two important party organizations: the Secretariat and the Political Bureau (Politburo).
   a) The Secretariat is responsible for the day-to-day administration of the Party.
   b) The Politburo is the group that determines official government policy. Thus, the Politburo, not an institution within the government itself, is the real source of political power. Mao Tse-tung is chairman of the Politburo as well as chairman of its parent body, the Central Committee. This makes Mao the single most powerful person in China today yet he does not hold any office in the government of Communist China.

D. The organization of the government of Communist China is modeled after the government of the Soviet Union.
   1. The lowest unit of local government is the village people's congress.
   2. Each province has a Provincial People's Congress.
   3. At the national level are the following:
      The National People's Congress
      a) This organization is comparable to the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union. It consists of about 1,200 members elected by the regional and provincial congresses. This group is technically the highest source of power in the nation. While the members meet annually supposedly to formulate government policy, they actually act as a rubber stamp for policies shaped by the Politburo of the Communist Party.
      b) This Congress elects the Chairman of the Republic who is the head of state. Liu Shao-ch'i now fills this largely ceremonial office.

      The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress

      This group carries on the functions of the Congress when it is not in session.

      The State Council

      This group resembles the cabinet of a Western parliamentary government and carries on the important executive business of government. It consists of about 40 ministries such as foreign affairs, national defense, petroleum industries, and cultural affairs and is headed by the premier who serves as head of the government. The present Premier of Communist China is Chou En-lai.
   4. The structure of government is carefully spelled out in the 1954 constitution; it grants to each level of government an elected assembly to which full powers are delegated. However, all candidates for election at any level must be acceptable to the Party and subject to its will. Much importance is placed on the trappings of the election process but all nominees for office are selected by the Party so no really free elections can take place.
   5. Mao Tse-tung is the most powerful person in Communist China. His prestige comes from his success as a pioneering leader of the Communist Party. However, Mao does not rule as autocratically as Stalin did in the Soviet Union. He shares his power with other members of the Politburo.
   6. The Chinese Communist Party has not purged numerous leaders as has the Soviet Communist Party. The present Communist Chinese rulers are still largely the same closely-knit group that led the long struggle against the Nationalists. As this leadership passes from the scene, problems of succession will likely appear.

II. The Chinese Communist Party has made itself the master over 750,000,000 people by the skillful use of the most massive and elaborate system of thought control, propaganda and psychological pressure ever implemented in a large nation.

A. A basic difference exists in the manner in which the Communist Chinese and the Soviets established and have maintained control in their respective countries.

1. The Soviets made themselves supreme by purging, exiling or executing dissident groups.
2. The Chinese Communists, however, have emphasized thought reform (or brainwashing as it is known in the West) as the major method of controlling their people.
   a) Thought reform is based on the process of encouraging confession of past "reactionary" attitudes and behavior until the individual becomes receptive to re-education. The permanence of thought reform produced by such methods remains to be proved.
   b) Thought reform is carried out by using all means of communication on a national scale. Thus, the most massive propaganda machine in the world operates in this country. The current Communist Party "line" on any issue is constantly driven home to the people by the use of TV, radio, newspapers, billboards, loudspeakers, and party cadre. National campaigns to kill flies, hate Americans, and end landlordism are all pushed with equal vigor.

B. In addition to the use of thought reform and propaganda, loyalty to the regime is generated by two other circumstances:

1. The nationalistic goals of the Communists' appeal to the masses.
2. The people know that all special privileges (e.g. higher education) go to the most faithful supporters of the regime.

C. The Chinese Communists did carry out one series of mass executions (apart from their interventions in non-Chinese areas). In the years immediately after their takeover, they ruthlessly purged the large landowners. Some authorities estimate that up to one million people were killed in this initial frenzy of land reform.

D. The use of brute force and repressive measures has increased recently because of food crises and discontent caused by the failure of the regime to ameliorate the harsh realities of life in Communist China today. Much of this energy has now been turned toward an attack on the remnants and symbols of the "Old Order".

III. Theoretically, political subdivisions in Communist China have large degrees of autonomy. In reality, the central regime controls all subdivisions to the extent necessary to carry out its will.

A. The Constitution of 1954 created three levels of local government.

1. The provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities under the control of the central government make up the highest level.
   a) The 21 provinces have functions and boundaries fairly similar to those of the traditional provinces of imperial China.
   b) The autonomous regions consist primarily of peoples who are not Chinese in descent. Examples are Tibet, Kwangsi-Chuang, Inner Mongolia and Ninghsia.
   c) The three municipalities are Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai. These are governed directly by the central regime.
2. The second level of local government comprises a series of regional units of government operating within the provinces.
3. The lowest unit of local government is the village or township except where communes have been established.

B. Each of these three units or levels of local government has a congress to which is granted both legislative and executive power. Each congress chooses a council to carry out its administrative tasks.

C. No division of legislative, executive, or judicial power exists in Communist China. The judicial system consists of a series of courts quite different from those in the United States. At a particular level, a court is responsible not to the next highest court but to the elected congress at its level.

D. The political system of Communist China is based upon the principle of "Democratic Centralism." Future policies are formulated "with a nod" in the direction of democracy by the highest Party officials at the national level. Once a policy is adopted, then all Party subordinates must faithfully carry out this policy. This process emphasizes centralism to the neglect of democracy.

E. The most significant change in the local government of China under the Communist regime was the abolishment of the *Hsiang* or township in 1958 and its replacement by the communes as the basic unit of government in the countryside. Since the communes have failed, the regime is experimenting further with governmental organization in the rural parts of China.

IV. The political struggle between the two Chinas will continue to be an important world problem as long as the Soviet Union and the United States each supports one of the opposing regimes. (Note that the Soviet Union is increasingly concerned with the strong nationalistic and expansionistic policies of the People's Republic.)

A. Two groups claim to be the legal government of China: the Communist regime, called the People's Republic of China, controls mainland China; the Nationalist regime, called the Republic of China, controls Taiwan (Formosa) and the Pescadores Islands. The governments at Peking and Taipei deny the existence of two Chinas; each claims the other does not legally exist.

1. The Communists look upon the Nationalists as a puppet regime propped up by the American imperialists.
2. The Nationalists look upon the Communists as quislings occupying China in the hire of the Soviet Union.
3. This struggle began in 1926 when the Nationalists drove the Communists out of the Kuomintang, Sun Yat-sen's political party.

B. "In the Taipei-Peking contest the sovereign states of the world have been made into a roadside jury. Having set up these competing allegations, the Chinese—both sets of them—now turn to the outside world for validation or repudiation of their respective claims."[1]

1. The United States is allied with the Republic of China. The Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty of 1955 pledges that either nation will come to the assistance of the other nation in case of an armed attack in the West Pacific area on the territories of either nation.
2. The Soviet Union is allied with the People's Republic of China. The Sino-Soviet Treaty of Alliance of 1950 pledges that the contracting parties will act to prevent any aggression on the part of Japan or any state which should unite with Japan. In the event one of the parties is attacked by Japan or a nation allied with it, the other nation will come to its assistance.
3. The United States has a treaty of alliance with Japan. Therefore, this series of treaties possibly could bring the United States and the Soviet Union into a direct confrontation in any dispute between the two Chinas.
4. The diplomatic struggle between the competing Chinese regimes continues with each side having certain advantages.
   a) The Communists have been recognized by more governments of the world as the official government of mainland China than has the Nationalist government. (This includes Great Britain and other Western nations.)
   b) The Communists have control of all the people and resources of the mainland.
   c) The Nationalists retain the seat of China in the United Nations at this writing, although voting on admitting Communist China is increasingly favorable. This is a major source of support to their claims of being the real China.
   d) Nationalist China is recognized as the government of China by the United States and Japan, two nations influential in Asian affairs.

[1] Paul M. A. Linebarger, "Taipei and Peking: The Confronting Republics," *Journal of International Affairs*, XI, No. 2, 1957.

Some Suggested Learning Activities

1. Have a student compare and contrast the written constitutions of Communist China and the United States. What similarities and differences occur? Evaluate the importance of a written constitution in preserving freedom.
2. Have a student make two large posters: one showing the organization of the government of Communist China and the other the organization of the Communist Party in China. Consult: L. S. Stavrianos, *A Global History of Man*, Allyn and Bacon, 1968.
3. Assign members of the class biographical reports on the following key leaders of Communist China: Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-ch'i, Chu Teh, and Chou En-lai.
4. Have a better-than-average student present a book report on Arthur Koestler's novel, *Darkness at Noon*. His report should emphasize the nature of communist techniques for controlling men's minds.
5. Have a student debate on the following resolution: "Resolved: that the United States should recognize the Communist Chinese regime as the official government of China."
   See Eustace Seligman and R. R. Walker, "Should the United States Change Its China Policy?" *Headline Series, Pamphlet # 129*, Foreign Policy Association, May, 1958 and "U. S. Starts Rethinkink Policies on Red China", *Business Week*, March 12, 1966.
6. Assign an outstanding student to do a short research paper on the topic "The Question of United Nations Membership for Red China, 1949-1968," and report his findings to the class.
7. Either have a student or the teacher prepare on the blackboard or on dittoed sheets for class use an outline of the doctrinal and policy differences between Communist China and the Soviet Union. What factors make an open break and conflict between these two powers likely or unlikely? See Klaus Mehnert, *Peking and Moscow*, Mentor, 1963.
8. Assess the role of the overseas Chinese. What influence will they likely play in the struggles between the two Chinas?
9. Discuss with class the following quotation from Confucius in light of the current repressive policies of the Communist officials toward their people:

   When the ruler himself does what is right, he will have influence over the people without giving commands, and when the ruler himself does not do what is right, all his commands will be of no avail.

   Are commands necessary in a country of 80 percent illiteracy as in China of 1949?
10. Have a group of students present a panel discussion on the "Cultural Revolution" and its implications. (See Hugo Portisch, *Red China Today*, Fawcett, Greenwich (Conn.), 1967, pp. 362-375.)

PART V

Generalizations on the Social Fabric of Communist China

I. China has the most homogeneous population of any large nation in the world. Many different ethnic groups have gone into the makeup of China's population, but the long process of amalgamation has produced a people remarkably similar in racial makeup.

II. Over thousands of years the Chinese have created a standardized written language which all educated Chinese can read. Spoken Chinese is remarkably varied. The need for language reform has long been recognized, and the Communists are giving these reforms a high priority in their planning.

III. The Chinese have been very eclectic in their religious development. Elements of animism, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism have all contributed to the Chinese view of life and of the universe.

IV. China is undergoing a profound social revolution. The Confucian system which long unified China is disintegrating under the influence of Western thought. Filling this vacuum is communist ideology. Although it is too soon to foretell what lasting impact this new ideology will have, its immediate effect has been to produce a violent clash of conflicting values in Chinese society.

V. Mass education has been given a high priority by a Chinese government for the first time in Chinese history. The Communist drive toward ending illiteracy and the vast expansion in education are motivated by the desire to strengthen the power of the State and not by the desire to improve the well-being of the individual Chinese.

VI. "One cannot speak of conditions of life in today's China without taking into account the permanent invasion of the State and the community into the activities, the private life, the personal thoughts, the head and the heart of every single Chinese."[1]

VII. Traditional Chinese art, one of the noblest achievements of civilized man, has long been in decline. The Communist attitude has only delayed the possibility of the art renaissance necessary in China if it is to regain its former high status among nations in the arts.

Outline of Suggested Content

I. China has the most homogeneous population of any large nation in the world. Many different ethnic groups have gone into the makeup of China's population, but the long process of amalgamation has produced a people remarkably similar in racial makeup.

A. The Han Chinese are the main ethnic element in the population. These people, who get their name from the dynasty of the same name, are descendants of the original dwellers of northern China. Over the years many different ethnic groups have intermarried with them. But today 90 percent of all Chinese are either Han Chinese or people who have adopted their culture.

B. Even though the Han Chinese are remarkably homogeneous, differences do exist in their appearance—especially between those in the north and in the south of China.

1. Northern Chinese are about two inches taller in average height. They are heavier, less dark-complected, their noses are less broad, and they are reputed to be more conservative, more stable and more phlegmatic.

2. South China has experienced sizable immigration from the islands of Southeast Asia which has helped to produce these differences.

C. The Chinese have been remarkably free of a social caste system such as India has. The

[1] Robert Guillain, "Living in Communist China," *Current History*, December, 1958.

many invading groups have been absorbed into the population without prejudice whenever they agreed to adopt Chinese culture. The Chinese always made the degree of acceptance of Chinese culture the main criterion for social acceptance and not one's racial or religious background.

D. Within China separate ethnic groups still live that have not been absorbed into the major body of the Chinese population.

1. About 18 non-Chinese groups live in various parts of China. However, these people amount to little more than one percent of the population.
2. The largest of the non-Chinese groups is the Chuangs who live in southwest China in the Autonomous Republic of Kwangsi-Chuang.
3. On the western and northern borders are found Uigurs, Tibetans, Manchus, Mongols and various other groups that are distinctly different from the great majority of Chinese.
4. The Chinese Communists have had difficulty controlling some of these groups. The Tibetans resisted violently the reassertion of Chinese control over their country. The Moslems also have been restless under Communist control.

II. Over thousands of years the Chinese have created a standardized written language which all educated Chinese can read. Spoken Chinese is remarkably varied. The need for language reform has long been recognized, and the Communists are giving these reforms a high priority in their planning.

A. Written Chinese has no alphabet. Instead, ideas are communicated by an elaborate system of ideographs—symbols which represent a word or a thought. It is estimated that there are over 40,000 ideographs. A simple newspaper uses over 1500 ideographs to present the news.

1. Only the well-educated can use the written language. Illiteracy in China has always been high because the complexity of the written language retards attempts to end illiteracy. The written language does act as a unifying factor in China. The Chinese ideographs are also shared with many non-Chinese people. The Japanese, as well as others in Southeast Asia, use many Chinese ideographs.
2. No other language exists in which there is such a disparity between the written and spoken languages. There are ideographs for which no sounds exist in spoken Chinese, and there are idioms of speech for which there are no ideographs.

B. Spoken Chinese has a great variety of forms. However, an effort is being made to make Mandarin Chinese the "national language." This dialect is spoken in the purest form by the educated people around Peking. Many forms of Mandarin Chinese exist and frequently people cannot communicate with those only twenty miles away.

1. The major separate dialect is Cantonese; one who speaks Cantonese cannot communicate with people speaking Mandarin.
2. Spoken Chinese is extremely complex. It possesses many monosyllabic words which have different meanings depending upon the intonation of the speaker. It is said that Chinese must be sung, not spoken, to give it full clarity of meaning.

C. The Communist Chinese have accelerated efforts begun long ago to reform the written language and to make Mandarin the accepted form of spoken Chinese.

1. The major goals of language reform are
   a) to reduce the number of ideographs;
   b) to unify the nation by making Mandarin Chinese the spoken language for all of China; and
   c) to develop a Roman alphabet to replace eventually the ideographs.
2. Language reform has definite drawbacks for these reasons:
   a) The use of an alphabet would destroy the unity provided by the present ideographs.
   b) Language reform is always a long process. The spread of Mandarin Chinese is slowed by traditional regional loyalties.

c) All the literature written in the ideographs would eventually be unintelligible to succeeding generations.

3. The Chinese are handicapped presently because their language is not adaptable to the ideas of modern science and mathematics. Many Chinese scholars are today doing their scientific work in a foreign language such as Russian, German or English.

III. The Chinese have been very eclectic in their religious development. Elements of animism, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, have all contributed to the Chinese view of life and of the universe.

A. It is very difficult to find a Chinese who is a pure Buddhist, Taoist, or Confucian. The Chinese have preferred to draw their religious views of life from all these faiths. The Chinese do not find it difficult to worship a mountain and Buddha at the same time.

B. There are really two levels of Chinese religious belief. Both sets have been greatly weakened by Western influence since the 19th century.

1. Folk religion is the first level of religious belief. Some commentators say that animism is the real religion of China. Animism is the belief that all objects possess a natural life or vitality or are endowed with indwelling souls. The peasants have traditionally believed that evil and demons are all around them—that these spirits often take the form of some animal. They believed that two elemental forces were at work in the world: *yin*—symbolic of the earth, moon, darkness, evil, and the female sex; and *yang*—symbolic of heaven, sun, light, fire, goodness and the male sex. The evil spirits were always *yin* and the gods were *yang*. There was also a strong belief in mythical creatures such as dragons. This popular folk religion had strong aspects of determinism in it. Yet the peasants did believe in one high god or a personalized heaven.

2. The second level of religious belief consists of the three main religious systems of China: Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism.

Confucianism

a) The founder of this philosophical system was Kung Fu-tse (Confucius) who lived around 551 to 479 B.C. Confucianism is not really a religious system, but a philosophy of life whose founder never made any pretense of creating a religious system. Gradually, however, religious overtones were added. Later followers of Confucius actually revered him as a god.

b) Confucianism also came to mean the total system of Chinese religious and philosophical thought which existed outside of Taoism and Buddhism. This is the meaning of the term most frequently used in the study of Chinese society.

c) In his *Analects* or writings Confucius emphasized

—the importance of right conduct;

—the duties of social classes—the obedience of a man to his feudal overlord, a son to his father, a younger brother to his older brother, a wife to her husband, the loyalty of a friend to a friend;

—a principle similar to the Christian "Golden Rule";

—no human can possess ultimate truth;

—belief that men are essentially equal;

—the importance of character and knowledge;

—the supremacy of human values ("Wisdom is to know men; virtue is to love men");

—a better life would prevail for all only when the rulers accepted their full responsibilities to the people and the people reciprocated.

d) Confucianism was the principle upon which Chinese law developed. This law stressed the duties one person owed to another and the duties owed eventually to the emperor.

e) Over the years an official Confucian religion developed—

An Altar of Heaven and Altar to the Earth were set up at Peking to worship the spirits of heaven and earth. Confucius was eventually worshipped at these altars.

The practice of honoring ancestors was very important. This practice antedated Confucius but his teachings did much to stimulate ancestral worship.

Ceremonies for departed spirits were the most prominent aspect of the religious life of the old China.

Buddhism

a) This is the only religious faith imported into China that ever affected many Chinese. (Christianity has never made many converts among the masses of peasants in China.)

b) Buddhism arrived in the Han Dynasty. Its promise of a future life to the believer gained rapid converts. However, since the T'ang Dynasty, this religion has been in decline.

c) In China today, the only people who can be called exclusively Buddhists are the monks and nuns.

d) Buddhism was named for its founder by the Indian prince, Siddhartha Gautama. The four essential truths of this 6th century B.C. religion are
   (1) that life itself is the root of all suffering;
   (2) that sufferings are due to desires;
   (3) that desires can be eliminated by negating all physical and material demands; and
   (4) that this can be achieved by accumulating *karma* — "deeds" that will eventually bring the emancipation of the individual.

e) Buddhism was particularly significant for the Chinese peasants who believed that the friendly offices of the many Buddhist divinities could be used to combat evil spirits. They also believed that a happy life beyond the grave was possible if one repeated the prayers and followed such orthodox Buddhist practices as vegetarianism.

Taoism

a) The traditional founder of this philosophy was Lao Tzu, supposedly a contemporary of Confucius. It is not known if he actually lived.

b) The word *Tao* refers to what Western philosophers would call the "Absolute." Taoism emphasized mysticism, contemplation, and inaction as the way of Tao.

c) Taoism was a reaction against the ways of Confucianism, especially its emphasis on the intellect.

d) Over the years Taoism has degenerated into crass superstition, the search for elixirs to provide eternal life, and the practice of alchemy.

e) Taoism was organized like Buddhism with monks and temples. It accepted the ideas of the transmigration of souls and the law of Karma.

f) Taoism promised immortality to those who
   meditated on Taoist truths; cultivated attitudes of inaction and placidity; and adopted such practices as regulated breathing, dieting, self-discipline, and moral living.

C. In summary the general characteristics of Chinese religious life were:
   Its eclecticism
   Its high degree of tolerance of other religions
   Its optimism. There is little despair about the human situation
   Its strong ethical note
   Its emphasis on religious rites
   Its orientation to the problems of this world, especially belief in the ability of religion to improve this life
   Its highly superstitious nature
   Its emphasis on both social and individual relationships
   Its dependence upon a large amount of state control.[1]

   There has been a movement away from religion since the coming of the West in the 19th

[1] K. S. Latourette, *The Chinese, Their History and Culture*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1946.

century. The Confucian state religion collapsed long before the Communists came to power. The Communists officially advocate an atheistic view of life. Dialectical materialism does not permit room for a religious system. However, the official policy of the Communist regime has been to tolerate Christians and Buddhists so long as they do not threaten state security. Most foreign Christian missionaries have left or have been driven out of the country.

IV. China is undergoing a profound social revolution. The Confucian system which long unified China is disintegrating under the influence of Western thought. Filling this vacuum is communist ideology. Although it is too soon to foretell what lasting impact this new ideology will have, its immediate effect has been to produce a violent clash of conflicting values in Chinese society.

A. Until very recently, a strong family system emphasizing filial piety had been the keystone of Chinese society.

1. The Confucian philosophy emphasized the importance of the family and the mutual responsibilities of its members. The duty of the son to obey the father has been a strong tradition in China. Also, men were held to be superior to women.
2. The family was the central unit in the nation. Most families lived on farms, and handicraft was the only type of manufacturing done.
3. If one person in a family committed a crime, the whole family was held responsible. This circumstance made the family the most important institution for social control and moral education. In China the family performed functions usually allocated to government in other societies.
4. The institution of marriage was a very important means of preserving the old order. Marriages were arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Frequently, a couple never saw each other until they were married. After marriage the bride became a member of the groom's household.
5. Divorce was rare. A man was permitted to have only one wife but concubines were common.

B. Traditional Chinese society was remarkable for its lack of rigid class lines.

1. No caste system existed as in India. No priestly elite dominated the society.
2. In the Confucian era, China was ruled by an aristocracy of intellect rather than heredity.
   a) The successful completion of competitive civil service examinations based on the Confucian classics was the only way to qualify for government positions.
   b) These exams were open to all males.
3. Slavery never was very extensive; what slavery did exist resulted from something other than racial bias.
4. Intermarriage of foreign invaders with the Chinese was characteristic of old China.
5. The most exalted position in old China was held by the scholar-gentry who represented about 10 percent of the population.
6. The farmer, while usually poor, nevertheless held a higher status than the more well-to-do merchants, money lenders, or soldiers.
7. Ancestral worship, so pervasive in old China, reduced physical mobility. People did not like to leave their homes because they feared that absence from their ancestors' graves would bring adversity.
8. An elaborate system of rules and regulations pertaining to social intercourse elevated correct form to the highest importance. Much stress was placed on ceremonies and the amenities of social relationships.
   a) The Chinese are highly sensitive about the matter of "face". (Face—roughly the avoidance of error or ridicule that would be damaging to the family name and image.)
   b) They are an intensely proud people.
   c) They dislike physical violence. A

threat to strike a blow is to give great offense.

d) The Chinese highly esteem dignity of person.

9. The Chinese find the directness of speech and the hurried pattern of Western behavior crude.

10. In the traditional Chinese view, a tranquil mind was a man's richest possession.

C. So long as China remained isolated, the social patterns of old China remained stable, but changes came rapidly beginning in the 19th century.

1. The ideals of modern nationalism, democracy, and industrialism began to unhinge the traditional pattern of Chinese society.

a) City life became more important and offered an escape from rural drudgery.

b) The ideals of individualism imported from the West helped to undermine the Confucian ethic and the stability of the family.

c) Superstitions and traditional religious rites became less pronounced with a more scientific attitude toward life.

d) The idea of national greatness partially replaced loyalty to the family.

e) The humiliation caused by Western dominance of China caused many people to reject China's traditional way of life as inferior to the West's or at least incapable of resisting the West.

f) The long years of foreign and civil war since 1912 destroyed many of the old loyalties and weakened cohesive forces (e.g. the rural landlord, the urban bourgeois).

2. The process of evolving a new synthesis in Chinese society—the best of the West with the best of the East—would have taken more time and greater isolation from the chaotic affairs of Asia than fate permitted.

a) It takes time for old patterns of living to change. Even today much of rural China still retains many traditional elements.

b) When China was violently rocked by Western intervention and Japanese invasions, the energies of her people were involved in self-preservation rather than in creating some new harmonious cultural synthesis which the country so desperately needed.

c) Ironically, the best that the West had to offer in creating this ideal synthesis—democracy, respect for individual rights, and Christian ethics —were too closely identified with predatory Western imperialism to receive the attention they deserved.

3. Into the chaotic situation produced by the disorganization of the social system rushed communist ideology. Because this philosophy was carried forward by a group unequaled for its discipline, a fanatical sense of rightness, and a missionary zeal, the Communists were able to fill this void in China with greater success than other less organized ideological groups.

4. The Communist social system clashes in many instances with traditional Chinese patterns. For example, the Communists have declared that the following old patterns must give way to new:[1]

a) Veneration of the past to wholehearted confidence in the future.

b) Respect for learning to worship of manual labor.

c) Loyalty to family and friend to loyalty to the party and nation.

d) "Face" to public admission of guilt.

e) The incentive of private gain to that of future benefit of fellow countrymen.

f) Good manners and reserve to violent outbursts of hate and love.

g) The middle course, a sense of humor and a sense of proportion to rigid intolerance based on a world of black and white.

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[1] Peggy Durdin, "Mao's China", *Headline Series #136*, Foreign Policy Association, July-August, 1959.

h) The ideal of tranquility to the ideal of tense, constant struggle.

5. In practice a new pattern of life is evolving in Communist China which has produced the following radical social changes:

   a) Because they cannot be trusted by the Communist Party, the intellectuals have been reduced to the lowest level of the social scale.

   b) Industrial workers and scientific specialists now form the highest class in China. This group provides the new leaders for the Party. (It is ironic to note that the present leaders of Communist China are primarily intellectuals, the very group they now hold in such disrepute.)

   c) The family is a prime target of the Party. The patriarchal system has been weakened. Women now have equal rights with men which include the right to hold property. Divorce has been made easier. Women have been employed outside the home in positions of every description. China even has a woman general in the army.

   d) Filial piety has been abolished. Sons and daughters are urged to denounce their fathers and mothers for reactionary thoughts and deeds.

   e) The Party is assuming an increasingly enlarged responsibility for the raising of children. This is especially true in the communes where the children spend most of their time in nurseries.

   f) Pay for work done by any member of a family goes to the member who earned it and not to the head of the family as tradition demands.

6. In summary: "With technological and psychological weapons unknown in old China, Peking moves relentlessly to create the Chinese version of the organization man: the human being so perfectly synchronized with the Party that he not only echoes but anticipates its bidding, the individual personality so well adjusted to his narrow cell that he no longer possesses either the wish or the will to escape."[1]

7. The question inevitably arises: Why did the Chinese, especially the intellectuals, accept the Communists as the successors to the Nationalists?

   a) Largely, it was the belief that the Communists would secure a place in the sun for China. The Communists were seen as a means to bring about national vindication.

   b) The irony is that the Chinese who abandoned their traditional ways in protest against the West have adopted a Western philosophy of communism as a palliative.

   c) Just as the Communists are communizing the Chinese, so inevitably communism in China has taken on uniquely Chinese aspects. It is the lack of clarity as to what final amalgamation will come out of the merger of the Chinese mind and Communist ideology that makes it so difficult to predict future trends in the social revolution now going on for some 19 years in China.

V. Mass education has been given a high priority by a Chinese government for the first time in Chinese history. The Communist drive toward ending illiteracy and the vast expansion in education are motivated by the desire to strengthen the power of the State and not by the desire to improve the well-being of the individual Chinese.

A. China has an ancient tradition of respect for education. But this education was always limited to the intellectually gifted who could qualify for the study of the Confucian classics. This emphasis on an intellectual elite combined with the rural nature of traditional China produced almost universal illiteracy. The Communists were thus faced with the huge problem of a population in which it was estimated 80 percent could not read or write in 1949.

B. The Communists have launched a truly remarkable educational revolution in their

[1] Howard L. Boorman, "How Has China Changed", *New Republic*, v. 136, No. 19, May 13, 1957.

drive to become a great power.[1] Accurate and more recent statistics are not available since 1961 when the government stopped releasing them and all figures of recent years are estimates.

1. A vast school building program is underway in China. In 1949 there were an estimated 350,000 schools for 25,000,000 pupils. In 1961 it was estimated that there were 1,000,000 schools for 108,000,000 pupils. If true, this is a 400 percent increase. Nothing like this has ever occurred in any nation before on such a scale.[2]
2. Higher education is reported to be increasing at a rate of 500 percent. (The United States increased the number of students in higher education 40 percent between 1949-1961.) Enrollments in 1,000 institutions of higher education are now estimated to be over 800,000.
3. A great war is being waged on adult illiteracy. It is estimated that 50 percent of the Chinese can now read and write to a limited degree compared with 20 percent in 1949. This has been accomplished by workers attending evening schools and peasants attending schools held during the winter months. In 1965 over 75,000,000 were enrolled in these schools.

C. The Communists state the purpose of education to be the following: . . . "raising of the cultural level of the people, training of personnel for national reconstruction, eradication of feudal comprador (serfdom) and fascist ideology, and development of the ideology of service to the people." This is in startling contrast to the traditional Chinese philosophy of education which valued learning for its own sake.

1. To achieve this purpose the schools dispense as much indoctrination and propaganda as they do learning. The Communists look upon the schools as the best way to win support of the masses. They use the curriculum as a means to bring about more quickly their social, political, and economic aims.
2. The Chinese Communists inject propaganda into such unlikely subjects as mathematics. For instance, the following math problem is found in the curriculum of a school for factory workers: "In the United States the number of half-starved people is twice the number of the unemployed and is 5,000,000 less than the number who have to live in slums. As one-half the number of the slum dwellers is 11¼ million, what is the number of unemployed in the United States?"
3. Science, mathematics and engineering receive the highest priority in the schools. This is in line with China's desire to industrialize quickly, but it is also a reflection of the extremely backward state of scientific knowledge in China up to the 20th century. Today, advanced scientific work is being done in Peking and other parts of China, but this is a relatively recent development.
   a) Liberal arts are nonexistent in the curriculum.
   b) Technical education is strongly emphasized.
4. Only the ideologically correct-thinking student is permitted the chance for advanced study. All advanced students must pass security clearances.
5. All students above the primary level are assigned to a specific curriculum and after graduation are sent to the job and location of the Party's choosing.
6. All students must do some physical labor while in school.

D. To insure that its educational objectives are accomplished the Communist party coordinates all means of communication, all organizational activity, every phase of Chinese society to reflect the goals and aims of the Party.

1. Writers, artists, actors, even circus performers must carry out the proper Party propaganda line.
2. Press censorship or the total monopolization of communication media elimi-

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[1] The present "Cultural Revolution" has seriously damaged previous strides made in education to an unknown degree.

[2] William Benton, "Education in Red China", *Saturday Review*, July 15, 1961. This article is the source for most of this discussion on education.

nates the possibility of conflicting views undermining the State's educational policies.

3. The consequence of all this is that there is no intellectual freedom whatsoever in Communist China, but neither is there a lag between the schools and society as is bound to happen in a free society. This totalitarian mobilization of men's minds makes this educational program of China a frightful thing—both dangerous and tragic.

E. The organization of education in China is somewhat similar to the European system; for progression from one level to the next is only possible after passing difficult examinations. Only a small percentage of students ever reach the university level. Educational opportunities are particularly limited in rural areas.

1. The typical pattern of education for a child of an urban factory worker is as follows:

a) Entrance of the child into kindergarten at age three. He remains here until he is seven. This long stay in kindergarten is due to the desire of the Party to establish control over children as early as possible.

b) Primary school lasts for six years. The curriculum is very similar to that of an American school except for the constant indoctrination. However, the student must pass a central government examination to pass on to the next higher school.

c) Secondary school lasts for six years.

(1) a junior middle program is three years in duration

(2) a senior middle program is also three years long

(3) two kinds of secondary schools exist for distinctly different purposes:

(a) The general school emphasizes academic programs.

(b) Specialized schools emphasize the study of such specific fields as forestry, pharmacy, and engineering.

(4) College admittance is based on successful passing of central government examinations.

d) College is a four-year program.

(1) Instruction at this level is very narrow in scope. A student would study mine operation, for instance, exclusively for four years. Other courses might include such things as paper manufacturing or city planning.

(2) A student is highly motivated to do his best in such a system. The failure to pass exams at any level means the student is condemned to a lower status in society than one who passes on through the system. Competition is extremely keen.

F. Many problems exist in the Communist drive to expand education.

1. The lack of capital makes it impossible to care for the almost infinite number of students. Education is still not compulsory in China for this reason. Also, fees are commonly charged, and students must work for the state during recess or vacation without compensation.

2. Provision has been made for over 91,000,000 primary school children (with double sessions) yet only 15 percent of them can be accommodated in junior middle programs.

3. A severe shortage of teachers exists and teacher morale has been adversely affected by assignment to difficult adult schools or distant frontier schools.

4. China's difficult language has complicated the battle against illiteracy.

5. Even with the recent vast expansion of education, China still suffers from a critical shortage of experts in all the technical fields.

6. Beginning in the summer of 1966 the "Great Proletarian Revolution" disrupted educational services at all levels and closed the universities. The degree of injury to previous development can only be estimated but this turmoil must be viewed as a major disaster.

VI. "One cannot speak of conditions of life in today's China without taking into account the permanent invasion of the State and the community into the activities, the private life, the personal thoughts, the head and the heart of every single Chinese."[1]

A. In trying to understand the pattern of daily life in China, the first point to realize is that China is an extremely poor country even within its Asian setting.

1. Average salaries of workers are less than $300 a year.
2. Farm families frequently average less than $300 a year.
3. The diet of the average Chinese is estimated to average only 600-900 calories daily.
4. Such Western conveniences as running water, electricity, and central heating are still rare for Chinese.
5. Even if a Chinese worker had the necessary money, many of the amenities of life Westerners consider essential, such as soap, sugar, milk, meat, vegetables and quality clothes could not be purchased or would be in scarce supply. One worker questioned by a foreigner was asked what his greatest wish was. His answer: "to have a little more pork."

B. In Communist China the urban factory worker has been better treated by the regime than the rural farm worker.

1. The Chinese peasant has always been poorer.
2. The regime gives special bonuses to city workers to encourage industrialization.
3. The reforms in the countryside emphasize social change rather than economic improvement.
4. Educational opportunities are far greater in the cities than in rural areas.
5. Health facilities, recreational opportunities, and other advantages are more numerous in the cities.

C. Family life as it is known in the West is rapidly disappearing under the crushing weight of the totalitarian pressures directed against the family in China.

1. In Communist ideology loyalty to the State and Party must supersede loyalty to the family.
2. Members of families are frequently separated for long periods by order of the State.
   a) In rural communes, children are taken from parents at the age of three and placed in nurseries during the day so that the mothers can be freed for work in the fields or factories.
   b) In cities, fathers are frequently separated from their families by moving to dormitories at their site of work for six days a week.
   c) The bureaucracy may arbitrarily separate husband and wife by assigning each to different jobs in different parts of China. The case is told of a couple who lived in Peking and the husband was transferred to Chungking. After a considerable wait the wife secured a transfer to Chungking only to learn on arriving there that her husband had been transferred to a third city.
3. Duty owed to the State comes before personal needs.
   a) In communes the typical day begins with rifle drill and ends with propaganda sessions.
   b) Campaigns to kill flies, build roads, or hate Americans take precedence over personal desires.

D. No matter how hard one works, the surplus created from his extra individual effort goes to the State.

1. Communist leaders are pushing industrialization by extracting the necessary capital from the peasants by delaying improvement in their standard of living.
2. Consumer needs have low priority; a good example is that the electric lamps are dimmed in the city of Shanghai in the evening to shunt additional power to the factories in the suburbs.

[1] Robert Guillain, "Living in Communist China," *Current History*, December, 1958.

3. Constant exhortations by party cadre are the means by which the hurried pace is maintained.

E. In spite of the harsh realities of life today in China, conditions have improved in some areas over past decades.[1]

1. Public services are now efficiently operated and more readily available.
2. A program of social insurance has been instituted. This covers medical care, hospitalization, disability, and old age pensions.
3. Rigid price controls have reduced the problem of inflation.
4. Public health is greatly improved. The massive epidemics of the past are becoming rare.
5. Begging, prostitution, and concubinage have been outlawed and greatly reduced.
6. People are better-dressed, the previous "blue uniform" now being replaced by more colorful clothing and styles. Women wear clothing similar to the men as they often have similar jobs. Conformity is the rule.
7. Corruption of public officials is no longer a serious problem.
8. The purchasing power of the average worker has increased.

F. Repulsion at the regimented life of the Chinese under Communism should not make the Westerner predict the likelihood of sudden revolution in China. One cannot judge China by Western standards. As one wise observer put it: "there is no room yet for happiness (in China) but there is room for hope—and that is half-way to happiness." If the current food crises, apathy, and political discontent continue to persist, the hope for improvement may fade completely and revolution will become a possibility.

G. It is impossible to convince a dedicated Communist that things could be wrong with life in China today: "for the Communists somehow distort the very essence of things—or worse still, they believe their own lies, which are not really lies, but a kind of obsessive idea. As a result they do not try to hide anything. They are so certain of the excellence and reality of their obsessive ideas that any one who refuses to see things their way is simply a malicious saboteur or a spiteful idiot and both must be reeducated."[1]

VII. Traditional Chinese art, one of the noblest achievements of civilized man, has long been in decline. The Communist attitude has only delayed the possibility of the art renaissance necessary in China if it is to regain its former high status among nations in the arts.

A. In the traditional Chinese society, art was valued for its own sake. All educated persons were expected to be knowledgeable about art and to practice some form of art in their leisure time.

1. Art has ancient traditions in China. Primitive forms of Chinese art exist as far back as 4000 years ago.
2. China never experienced anything so disruptive as the "Dark Ages" in the evolution of its art.
3. Over the span of Chinese history the eras of the T'ang and Sung dynasties stand out as the most creative periods in the development of art.
   a) The influence of Buddhism in this period had a strong effect in producing quality art.
   b) Sculpture, painting and poetry probably reached their greatest heights in the T'ang period.
   c) In some special forms of art: ceramics, rugs, carpets, bronzework and architecture, the era of the Ming dynasty was important.

B. Painting appears to be the most significant and most highly creative form of art in Chinese history.

1. Chinese painting is done with a brush using ink or water colors. It is closely associated with calligraphy, the drawing of the Chinese ideographs.

[1] These improvements were the result of the initial successes of the Communists in the years 1949-1958. A great deterioration occurred in living conditions after the failure of the Great Leap Forward until 1964. The time lag in getting news from China today precludes an accurate description of conditions in 1968 but considerable improvement was noted until 1966 and the "Cultural Revolution." For an unconfirmed view that conditions were horrible in 1962 see Valentin Chu, "The Famine Makers," *The New Leader*, June 11, 1962.

[1] Peter Schmid, *The New Face of China*, New York, Pitman Corporation, 1958.

2. Paintings were usually placed on scrolls and were seldom framed. Painting was also done frequently on silk or heavy paper. These circumstances account for the paucity of the classical paintings left in China today. Relatively few works of the great masters have been preserved.
3. Landscapes were the most popular subject for Chinese artists. Religious themes, flowers, trees and birds are also recurring objects in Chinese painting.
4. The Chinese were probably the first "impressionists" in that they did not try to reproduce a scene photographically but rather to give a personal impression of what the artist saw.
5. Color has been an important element in Chinese painting.
6. Two of China's greatest painters were Ku K'ai-chih and Wu Tao-tsu.

C. Chinese achievements in architecture are noteworthy, but few examples remain of ancient Chinese architecture as the Chinese usually built with perishable materials such as wood.

1. Among the identifiable characteristics of Chinese architecture are the following:
   a) The attempt to build structures that were in harmonious agreement with the universe. (An example to the contrary would be the Empire State Building in the United States.)
   b) Prominent use of walls. The Great Wall of China is the most famous example of such concern with walls, for cities, temples, and houses are usually surrounded by walls.
   c) The enclosed court.
   d) The extensive use of wood.
   e) Beams are left exposed for ornamental purposes.
   f) Buildings are frequently built on platforms.
   g) Prominence of the roof which is usually tiled.
   h) Ubiquitousness of the pagoda. This structure is closely associated with Buddhism and is Chinese in design.
2. The architecture of Peking has made it one of the really great cities in the world. Its imperial palaces are still an architectural attraction. The Communists, however, are corrupting the classic beauty of Peking by building huge buildings that are a warped merger of the traditional and socialist realism architectural styles.

D. Sculpture has not been as significant in China's artistic endeavors as some other forms of art.

1. The T'ang period is again the era of the greatest work in sculpture. Today Buddhist statues from this era still abound. The large stone statues which still are left are usually the least original in design.
2. Secular sculpture in China was done primarily for decorating tombs.

E. Ceramics and Chinese art are almost synonymous. Pottery and porcelain works of art were very prevalent. The name "China" has in Western parlance become synonymous with porcelain. In the Sung and Ming dynasties ceramics flourished. Even down into the recent period artists in porcelain were producing quality work.

F. Works of art in bronze have always been popular in China. More examples of bronze work remain from the earliest eras than any other art forms.

1. Buddhist images were the most frequent subjects for bronze designers.
2. Bronze tablets were popular for placing on graves.

G. Literature has been very important in Chinese history. Two kinds of literature exist: works written in classic style by the scholars, and the folklore and more informal literature written in a more colloquial style.

1. Prior to the coming of the Communists, the Chinese treasured most highly their classical books written in the Chou and Han periods. The *Analects* of Confucius are an example of this kind of literature.
2. Works of history have been highly prized. The Chinese are among the world's most enthusiastic historians.

3. Many treatises were written on China's traditional form of government.
4. Writings about archaeology have been both numerous and popular.
5. The Chinese have been great encyclopedists.
6. Each of the great religious groups produced a voluminous literature.
7. Poetry has been the most perfected literary form in China and probably the most popular. Li Po and Tu Fu are China's most famous poets.
8. Novels were looked down on by the scholars, and most fiction was produced in the vernacular language.

H. The theatre has long been an important institution in China and it remains popular.
1. Pantomimes with music date from early historic times and commemorate the deeds of ancestors.
2. The drama has always been an important agency for popular education.
3. The theatre in China uses little scenery; masks and elaborate costumes are used.
4. Musical accompaniment is typical of most dramatic programs.
5. Chinese singing is high in pitch, and Chinese singing voices have a falsetto quality to Western ears.
6. Themes in the theatre vary greatly. Comedy, tragedy, romance, and history are common forms.
7. While the theatre has always been popular, it has not been used as it has often been in the West to expound profound philosophical ideals. For this purpose the Chinese have preferred to use philosophy.
8. The opera is very popular in China. This country is a pioneer in this form of dramatic entertainment.

I. The music of China is pure, melodic, void of repetition and unadorned. The sounds of Chinese music which Westerners often describe as noise are, in actuality, means of contrast.
1. Emperor Fu Hsi (2852 B.C.) is credited with having invented Chinese music, and its basic form was developed during the reign of Huang Ti (2697 B.C.).
2. A scale of twelve untempered half-tones was the first important form for musical composition. Later, during the Ming dynasty, a pentatomic scale evolved. Interestingly, each degree of this scale was given a name as follows:
F—Emperor
G—Prime Minister
A—Loyal Subjects
C—Affairs of State
D—Mirror of the World
3. Microtones, which were used in early Chinese music, are still used in the form of sliding tones. Orchestras numbering 500 to 900 players were used in the T'ang dynasty. The exquisite instruments used in this dynasty are still used throughout the Orient.
4. Some of these Chinese instruments are the following:
San-Hsien, a long-necked lute the body of which is covered with snake skin
P'i-P'a, a short lute
Ti-Tau, a Chinese flute
She, a fourteen-to-fifty-stringed zither
Yuen Ch'in or Moon Guitar
Erh-Hsien, a two-stringed fiddle
Po-Fu, a small drum
Lo, a gong
La-Pa, a trumpet

J. Beginning with the Ch'ing dynasty, at least, Chinese achievements in the various forms of art began to deteriorate in the general chaos that characterized China in the last centuries of imperial rule.
1. In the 19th century Chinese students began to study painting in Europe in an attempt to create a new synthesis of Western and Chinese painting that would revive art in China.
2. All during the 1920's and the 1930's artists were groping for new forms to express the conflict of ideas at work in China. Some artists abandoned entirely Chinese art forms.
3. Wood block painters began to be important. This movement was led by Lu Hsun. This form of artistic expression was readily adaptable to propaganda,

and its subject matter was very proletarian and filled with discontent. The Kuomintang despised this dominant phase of painting in China in the 1930's for it was a primary vehicle for spreading communist ideology.

K. The Communists inherited three kinds of painting:

1. Painting in the traditional Chinese manner which was only a remnant of the former glory of Chinese painting.
2. A modern movement in art which was experimenting with non-Chinese forms.
3. The wood block movement previously described.

L. The Communist view of all forms of art is that the artist is the servant of the State and the Party. All art must convey the ideas the Party wants its citizens to have. If an artist is uncooperative, he is transferred to some other activity.

1. Socialist realism is the approved style in art. This requires that a painting be photographic and easily recognizable by the masses. This is contrary to all traditions in Chinese painting.
2. Painting has been used to push campaigns such as those to clean streets and to liberate Taiwan.
3. It is unlikely in the absence of freedom that Chinese artists will be able to evolve a new style of Chinese painting to restore it to its former, elevated status. This same lack of freedom will discourage individualism in other art forms as well, and individualism is the essence of creative effort.

M. The Communist regime has pushed a "do-it-yourself" cultural revolution. All peasants and proletarians are encouraged to paint, write poetry, and produce other works of art. Never have so many done so much of such a pedestrian nature. It is hard to believe that quality work will come out of this campaign.

N. The Chinese Communists believe that the arts are a useful element in the direction of foreign affairs. They frequently promote art festivals and writers' conferences. They export various kinds of performers to nearby Asian countries as part of their general effort to expand their system. Of course, this "cultural diplomacy" is used by Western nations, too, in this era of cold war.

Some Suggested Learning Activities

1. Debate the following resolution: "Resolved: The attempt to reduce the importance of the family by the Communists is doomed to failure, because of the innate nature of mankind."
2. In a class discussion compare and contrast the role of consumers in an extremely low per capita income nation with the United States. How is capital investment secured?
3. Assign some student to do research on Communist ideology to determine what makes the Communists so fanatical in their zeal.
4. Assign each student an art project or a written report on some phase of Chinese art. Display the best examples of Chinese art produced by the class.
5. Make a field trip to a large museum to visit its oriental collection. If no museum is available nearby, encourage your librarian to purchase some of the books on Chinese art listed in the bibliography, and assign students to read and report on these books.
6. Discuss the following question in class: What is the relationship, if any, between the presence of religion in a culture and the artistic achievements of that culture? Is it merely an accident that the highest development of Chinese art occurred during the T'ang dynasty when Buddhism flourished and the lowest point at present when atheism is the official dogma of the society?
7. Have a committee read the works of Confucius and compile a list of his sayings which still seem to have much wisdom for our age. When they report have the class analyze the philosophy of this sage.
8. Assign four or five students to read books by recent travelers to Communist China. Students' reports should emphasize the daily pattern of life there. (See the bibliography for some suggested books.)
9. Have the class or a group eat at a Chinese restaurant to sample *traditional* Chinese cuisine.
10. Assign a student to do a research paper about the revival of traditional medicine in Communist China. This report should try to evaluate which

of the old practices in Chinese medicine still seem effective. See Ruth Adams, *Contemporary China*, Vintage, New York, 1966.

11. Discuss in class the official Chinese education policy of requiring examinations for students to qualify for advancement to the next level. Is this desirable?

12. Discuss in class the question of the importance of freedom in the educational process. What are the specific limitations of the Chinese Communist approach to education?

13. Discuss the question of arranged marriages in class. How is it possible that China continued this practice for thousands of years without young people rebelling *en masse?* How has this system changed?

14. Assign a student who is good in making models to make a model of the imperial palaces at Peking or a typical Buddhist temple.

15. Contact the art teacher and ask him if he will permit a representative group of students to experiment in the drawing of Chinese ideographs.

PART VI

Generalizations on the Foreign Relations of Communist China

I. China has had an expanding concept of global mission since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party.

II. At present emphasis on national security and internal development tends to override concern for world-wide revolutionary movements.

III. The United States has been designated by the Communists as the main enemy of the People's Republic, a role that has been strengthened by its military stance in Asia.

IV. Although limited in volume, generally open trade with many countries is carried on by the People's Republic despite a strong United States embargo.

V. Chinese Communism is an important revolutionary force in Asia. How successful the Chinese Communists are in exporting their system to other Asian nations will determine the future course of Asian history.

Outline of Suggested Content

I. China has had an expanding concept of global mission since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. (See Lin Piao's article, "Long Live the Victory of the People's War," 1965. Copies available through China Publications. See bibliography.)

A. The Communists seized power in mainland China by military force.

1. The apparent trend is to support military uprisings or "national liberation movements" around the world.
2. These "liberation" movements are supported by material aid but not troop commitment.
3. The results of the Korean War gave the People's Republic greater stature as a military power in Asia.
4. The revisionist policies of the Soviet Union in deviating from the "pure" Marxist line are viewed as a passing of the revolutionary torch to the People's Republic.

B. This global view is totally different from the lack of involvement or interest shown by precommunist China.

C. Communist China sees itself as setting the pattern and example for the Marxist concept of eventual world communism.

II. At present emphasis on national security and internal development tends to override concern for world-wide revolutionary movements.

A. The Chinese Communists feel themselves encircled by antagonistic nations backed by alliances with the United States.

1. This view of China's condition places the Communists in the defensive position.
2. China's policy seems to be directed toward "neutralizing" its Asian neighbors rather than active conversion to communism.

B. The Communist leaders are having difficulty in stabilizing their political and economic system internally and are in no position to concentrate on world communist movements beyond offering loud moral support.

1. One must view carefully the comparison between words and action in the case of the People's Republic. Loudly voiced belligerent policy is often marked by rather cautious action.
2. The Chinese Communists feel that the "soft" policies of the Soviet Union and the withdrawal of Soviet aid have weakened China's position and encouraged harsher United States policies toward their regime.

C. Most of the Chinese border conflicts today are rooted in the belief that all territory ever included in the Manchu Empire should be restored to China.

1. These areas include Korea, Taiwan, the Ryukyus, the Pescadores, Burma, Bhutan, Tibet, Nepal, Annam, Outer Mongolia, parts of Soviet Central Asia, and eastern Siberia.
2. Such efforts at regaining territory can be traced partially to the desire to establish some of the past grandeur of China.

D. The present regime in China vividly recalls the humiliations at the hands of the Western powers at the end of the 19th century and desires to restore world respect.

E. The successful detonation of advanced types of atomic bombs indicates technological ability that cannot go unheeded in the world of prestige and military power. Many feel that China is ahead of France in this field.[1]

III. The United States has been designated by the Communists as the main enemy of the People's Republic, a role that has been strengthened by its military stance in Asia.

A. The United States views the challenge of the entire Communist world as a threat to its political and economic system.

1. The United States policy of "containment" in Asia is essentially the same as that practiced in Europe: an attempt to contain China within its borders while endeavoring to strengthen the position of surrounding nations.
2. Where the allies of the United States lack sufficient military strength to balance what is seen as a Communist threat, the United States is committed to fill the vacuum.

B. United States support of the Republic of China (Taiwan) is aimed at limiting the external political effectiveness of the People's Republic.

IV. Although limited in volume, generally open trade with many countries is carried on by the People's Republic despite a strong United States embargo.

A. Since 1950 the United States has placed a virtually total embargo on all trade with mainland China and has used constant pressure to encourage its allies to do the same.

1. This policy was designed to weaken China's economic growth, restrict its military potential, and isolate China politically as well as economically.
2. This embargo has not been effective since most allies of the United States have drifted into increasing trade relations with China. Today China can secure nearly all of the import goods it needs

B. Eastern Europe provides China with a major source of technical experts and industrial products as well as an ideological battleground with the Soviet Union.

C. The aim of Chinese Communist policy in Western Europe is to expand trade relations while encouraging support for the entrance of the People's Republic into the United Nations. Although there is split opinion on the issue, nearly all European nations to whom trade is vital trade freely with Communist China.

> *In the end the Socialist system will replace the Capitalist system. This is an objective law independent of human will. No matter how hard the reactionaries try to prevent the advance of the wheel of history, revolution will take place sooner or later and will surely triumph.*
>
> *Mao Tse-tung, 1957*

V. Chinese Communism is an important revolutionary force in Asia. How successful the Chinese Communists are in exporting their system to other Asian nations will determine the future course of Asian history.

A. There are three fundamental goals of Chinese Communist foreign policy:

1. To reestablish China to its traditional predominance in Asia. This goal has its origins in ancient Chinese traditions. China has always sought to play the role of the Middle Kingdom, a civilized island surrounded by barbaric peoples.

[1] Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. *Impact of Chinese Communist Nuclear Weapons Progress on United States National Security*. Washington, D. C. 20510, 1967. (Free)

2. To achieve the status of a major world power. China today is striving to achieve the vision of greatness that Sun Yat-sen first possessed—that of a great Chinese nation in the truly modern sense.

3. To spread Communism throughout Asia and the rest of the world. This adds a new dynamic to Chinese foreign policy —menacing the peace of Asia. The first and second goals would have existed even if the Communists had never seized power.

B. The Chinese Communists have shifted their strategy and tactics frequently with changing conditions in their relentless efforts to achieve their foreign policy goals.

In retrospect, since 1949, there have been certain definite phases in Communist Chinese foreign policy. (The dates are approximate.)

1. The Stalinist Period: 1949-1952

a) In this period the Communists were very aggressive and followed a hard Stalinist line. Because of the early successes of the Communists in gaining control of the mainland, the leaders believed they were riding the wave of the future.

b) This was the era of the interventions in Korea and Tibet. At this time the Communists had little concern about the adverse effects of these actions on world opinion.

2. The era of "Peaceful Coexistence": 1954-1957

In this period the Communist Chinese shifted their line in the attempt to woo the neutralists. The Communists courted the new nations of Asia and Africa at the Bandung Conference. By subtle means the Communists hoped to undermine the influence of the West in Asia. Outright support of Asian communist revolutionary forces was reduced.

3. The Return to the Hard Line: 1957-1960

This rather drastic shift came about with the orbit of the Russian sputnik which produced the feeling in Peking that the balance of world power had shifted to the Communist camp. A new aggressive line in foreign affairs saw the Communists initiate a new Quemoy crisis, aid the rebels in Laos, and engage in disputes with Indonesia and India.

4. The Current Period: 1960 to the Present

The Chinese Communists have continued a somewhat hard line and particularly have been involved in border disputes with India. They have also supported revolutionary regimes in Southeast Asia, Albania, and Cuba with Viet Nam taking the spotlight. Yet the paramount development in this period has been the growing tension between Communist China and the Soviet Union.

a) Many factors have produced this tension: traditional differences in national interests, disputes over who shall lead the international communist movement, and differences of opinion about what should be the international communist party line. (The Chinese Communists believe Mao Tse-tung is the successor to Marx, Engels and Lenin, as chief Communist party philosopher, and they continue to hold Nikita Khrushchev in rather low esteem while avoiding direct personal reference to present Soviet leaders.)

b) Khrushchev's denouncing of Stalin was the immediate cause of open friction between the Chinese and Soviet Communist regimes.

c) China has continued to attack the Soviet Union for "forsaking the revolutionary ideals" of Marx but has not openly attacked Premier Kosygin or party Chairman Brezhnev.

C. The Chinese Communists believe that their unique form of communist revolution has shown its particular applicabiilty to the former colonial areas of Asia and Africa. They envision themselves as part of the great sweep of history, and believe it is their duty to export their ideology.

1. The Chinese Communists look upon themselves as the champions of the col-

onial and former colonial peoples of Asia and Africa. They feel that the Chinese revolutionary pattern of using the peasants as the best source of power to overthrow existing "bourgeois" or "imperialist" regimes is the key to successful revolution in Asia in contrast to the more orthodox Marxist emphasis on the use of the industrial proletariat.

2. The Chinese Communists also advocate the skillful exploitation of discontent caused by colonialism, feudalism, and rising expectations of the masses.
3. The Chinese Communists have successfully dramatized the premise that prolonged military resistance to an established regime is a more effective method of seizing power than strikes or a *coup d'état.*
4. The Chinese Communists also preach that socialism can be launched without waiting for the breakdown of a capitalistic system. In their view it is possible to take a feudal society and remake it into a communist system without going through the successive stages of industrial development that Marx reasoned were necessary.

D. Whether communism will or will not triumph in Asia depends upon the relative success that the Chinese Communists and the non-Communist governments of Asia have in their struggles to improve the welfare of the people under their control.

1. It is not clear now whether Communist China will create a new authoritarian order in most of Asia or whether internal difficulties and the harsh realities of their regimented system will negate its initial dynamism.
2. The major obstacle to eventual Chinese domination of Asia is the feeling of nationalism on the part of the Indonesians, Indians and others that the Chinese themselves have. Ultimately the limitation of Chinese Communist expansionism will depend upon the creation of viable independent nations around its borders. That this is now occurring is by no means certain.
3. Recent disturbances such as the Red Guard Movement have caused serious setbacks in China's ability to expand her role of leadership.

Some Suggested Learning Activities

1. Have students prepare a simulated United Nations debate on the admission of Communist China. The many aspects of this issue may be presented if students carefully research and represent the views of many nations.
2. Have students prepare a panel discussion on the effectiveness of United States foreign policy toward Communist China. This works best if the audience is prepared to raise important questions.
3. Structure a time line of United States-Chinese relations for large-group discussion.
4. Allow a few capable students to research and evaluate the amount of foreign trade currently engaged in by Communist China.
5. Assign reports evaluating the effectiveness of United States policy toward Nationalist China.
6. Have students prepare a map of Communist China today and China under the Manchus. Other students may research the history of the present land claims of Communist China to explain this map.
7. Hold a class discussion on factors which help to determine a nation's foreign policy. Debate this point: Chinese Communist foreign policy is nothing more than the reassertion of China's traditional imperialistic policies.
   See Ruth Adams, *Contemporary China,* Vintage, 1966.
8. Analyze the methods used by the Chinese Communists to subvert Asian nations.
   See Richard L. Walker, "Communist China—Power and Prospects," *New Leader,* October 20, 1958 and Levi, "China's Asian Policy," *Current History,* September, 1966.
9. Discuss with class Chinese foreign policy in light of the point of view of C. P. Fitzgerald, "Chinese Foreign Policy," *Contemporary China,* Ruth Adams, ed., 1966.
10. Have a student report on the border disputes between India and China: areas of conflict, background of dispute, recent incidents, etc.
11. Discuss with class the impact of modern nationalism on affairs in Asia since 1945. How effective an obstacle to communism will Asian nationalism be?

EPILOGUE

Throughout the main body of the text, references to the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" have been carefully restricted. Much of the current information available has been speculative or based on very limited sources, thus making a cautionary statement of this type necessary. The fact remains, however, that a state of serious ferment has existed in China since the fall of 1965 even if its true nature and objectives have remained obscure.

The mass mobilization program known as "The Great Leap Forward" resulted in a disastrous failure in the early 1960's. This program was aimed primarily at stimulating and emotionally exciting the mass of people in an effort to establish economic progress and a greater sense of nationalism. The collapse of this mass drive was so drastic that it shook the very roots of Mao's regime. Serious questions were raised concerning the policy decisions and authority of Chairman Mao within the high ranking offices of the administration. The mass of people on the other hand reacted with bitter disappointment and a disillusioned view of their great leader. Strong reactionary winds swept across the land threatening to destroy all that Mao had built and envisioned for his nation. Little escaped the challenging questions directed from all sides.

Extreme action was necessary to rescue the Maoist ideals and, once again, the excitement of the masses was required. New goals had to be quickly established and existing "enemies of the people" had to be established. Revolutionary dedication akin to that of the Long March had to be lighted.

In November 1965 the first action was initiated. Wu Han, a Party member and Deputy Mayor of Peking, was attacked in an official party newspaper editorial for criticizing the regime and lending moral aid to the enemies of the state. Lin Piao, Minister of Defense, and the People's Liberation Army now formed the core of leadership in the attacks on many persons of status accused of being "bourgeoisie" and opposed to the teachings of Mao.

By June 1966 the Peking Party Committee and the Central Committee Propaganda Department were purged. From this date on everyone and every idea fell under question and often open attack.

In August 1966 the Cultural Revolution was formally adopted and the decision made to postpone school enrollment. Now the student body was ripe for mobilization and Maoist training. Between August 1966 and February 1967 these organized students, known as the Red Guards, were unleashed in all regions where the local leadership was even slightly anti-Mao. These teenagers attacked any thing or person thought to represent bourgeois elements of the past with a crusading zeal seldom witnessed. The reopening of schools in February 1967 ended what was probably the most destructive period of general confusion seen in China since 1949. Mao had succeeded in exposing a new generation to the excitement and revolutionary zeal that he felt to be so vital.

The severe economic setback caused by this frenzied outburst and often recorded extremes taken by Red Guard units has caused much comment and speculation on the actual degree of control exerted by Mao during this period. This remains one of the many unknowns at present.

With the students returned to the classroom, the next order of business was the restoration of order and staunch pro-Mao leadership throughout the country. This was partially accomplished by the use of the People's Liberation Army once again. As could be expected this restoration of order was a difficult task and one which is apparently taking place at this writing although the major goals have been accomplished.

The foregoing account briefly outlines the sequence of events of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." The full analysis and evaluation of these events must await the settling of the dust before clear insight is possible. However, it is safe to draw a few basic conclusions at this point.

1. The front of solidarity and mass unity of the Chinese Communist Party has been shattered along with the indestructible image of Mao.
2. Hard-earned economic gains of past years have been seriously damaged.
3. The path of development has been altered, but not significantly improved.
4. China's role as a world revolutionary has been seriously damaged by the loss of confidence held by many lesser nations.

5. The violence and bitter slogans of the "Revolution" have further forced the distaste of the Soviet Union for Maoist China.
6. Internal leadership has been weakened and the reigns of totalitarian government are held by the unsteady hands of a 74-year-old man.
7. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution appears as a desperate, last-ditch effort to re-establish a dying social revolution.

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OVERHEAD PROJECTION TRANSPARENCY MASTERS

The attached maps have been prepared for reproduction as overhead transparencies by various processes. Their effectiveness would be greatly increased when used in close association with a good physical map of China. The interrelationship of climate, agriculture and industrial cities can be viewed by overlay projection.

Map Number 1. ***Climatic Analogues***

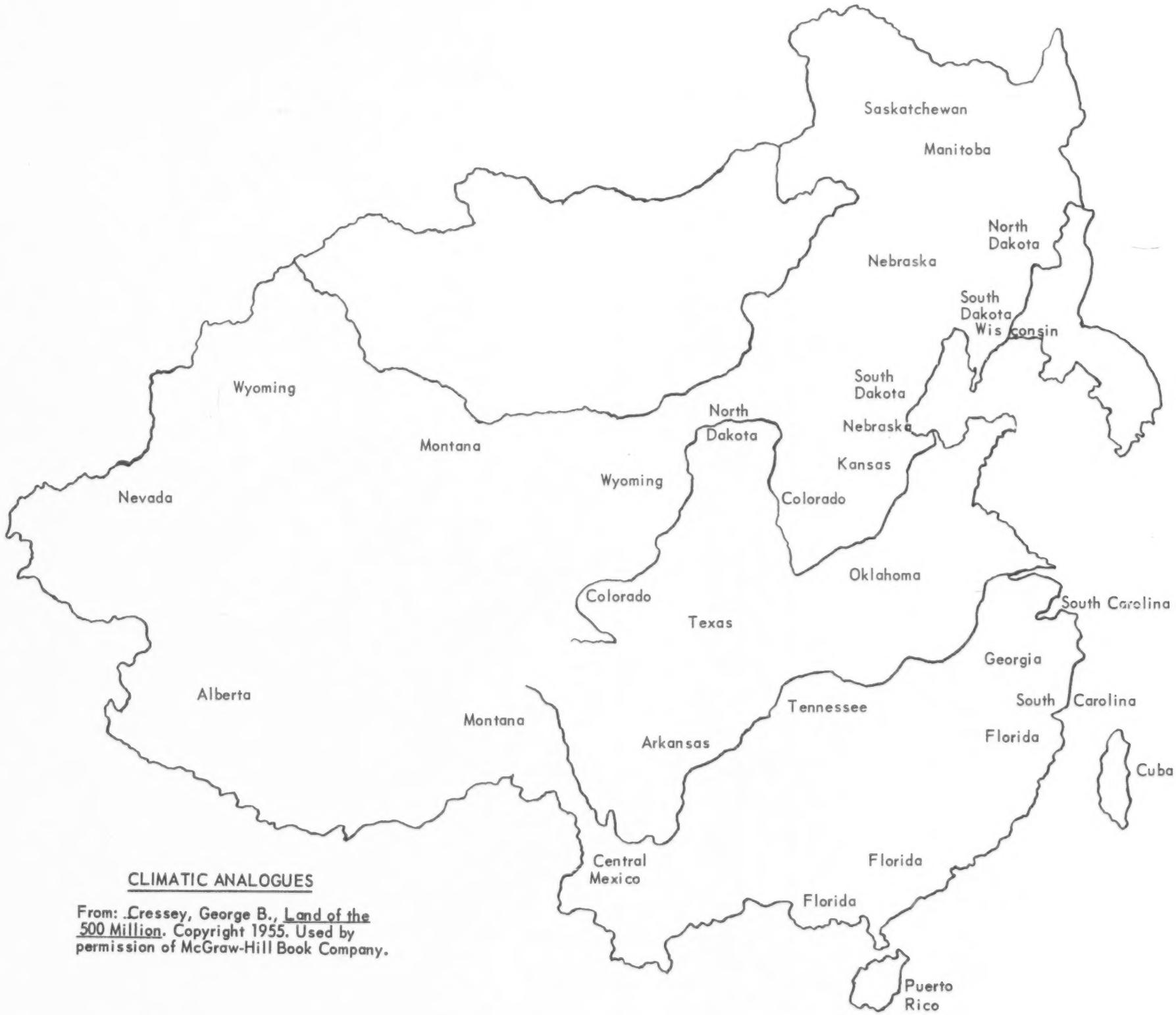
This map indicates the areas of China that have similar rainfall and temperature to locations in North America. These comparisons are suggestive only, but they provide a more readily understood "picture" than more formal climatic maps.

Map Number 2. ***Land Usability***

This map has been greatly simplified from the original for increased clarity when projected. The dotted areas indicate land suitable for agricultural activities. This map indicates to some extent the agricultural problems faced by China in her efforts to increase production. It is particularly significant to compare this map with the map of natural resources and new industrial cities in the west and central portions of China.

Map Number 3. ***Natural Resources of China***

This map indicates the location of major resources of critical importance to modern industry. Also indicated are the centers of industrial population growth of recent years, particularly notable in the west. The metallurgical bases indicate areas of major industrial concentration. This map does not indicate all areas of industrial development but has been kept "thin" to provide space for teacher-added information.



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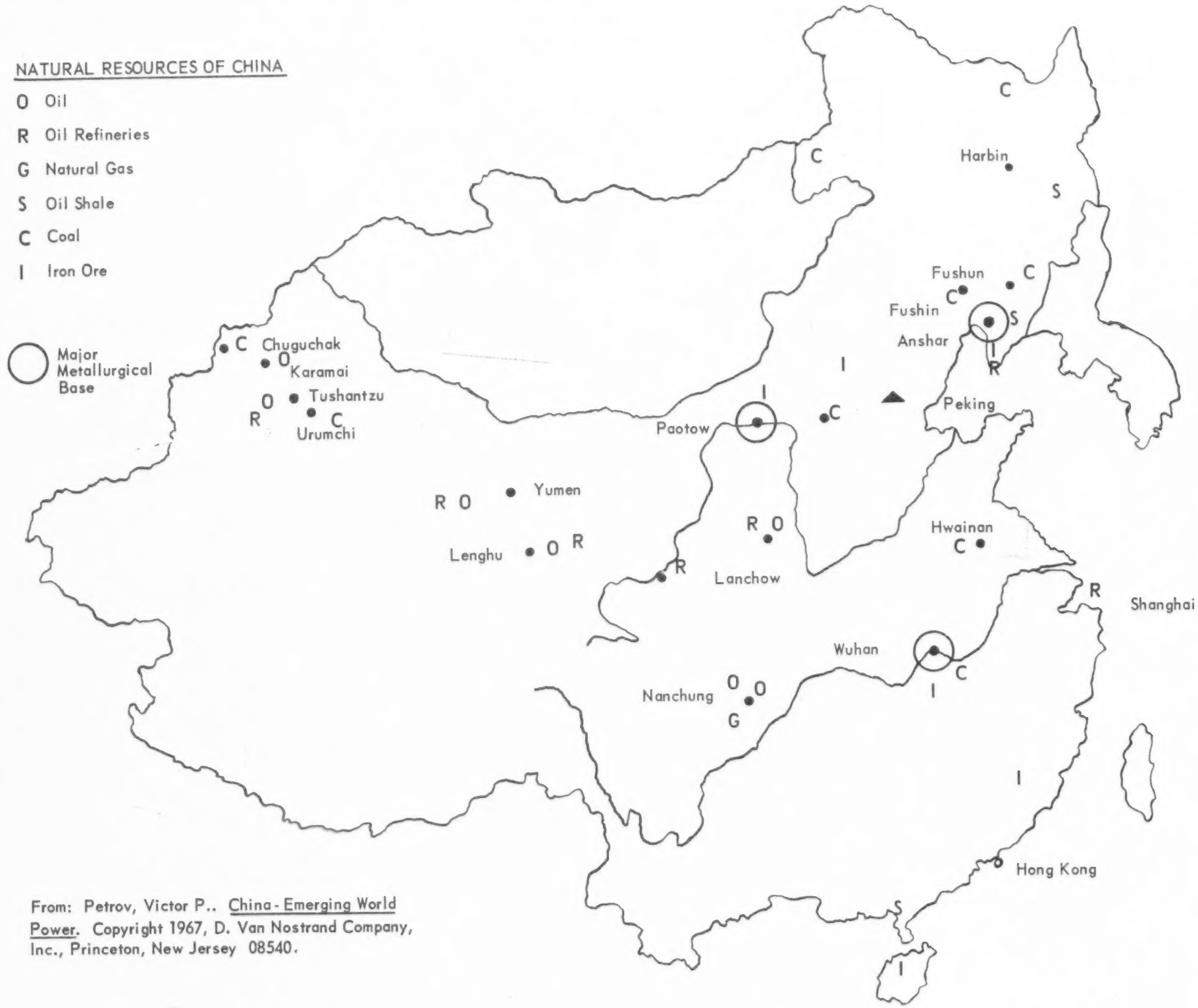

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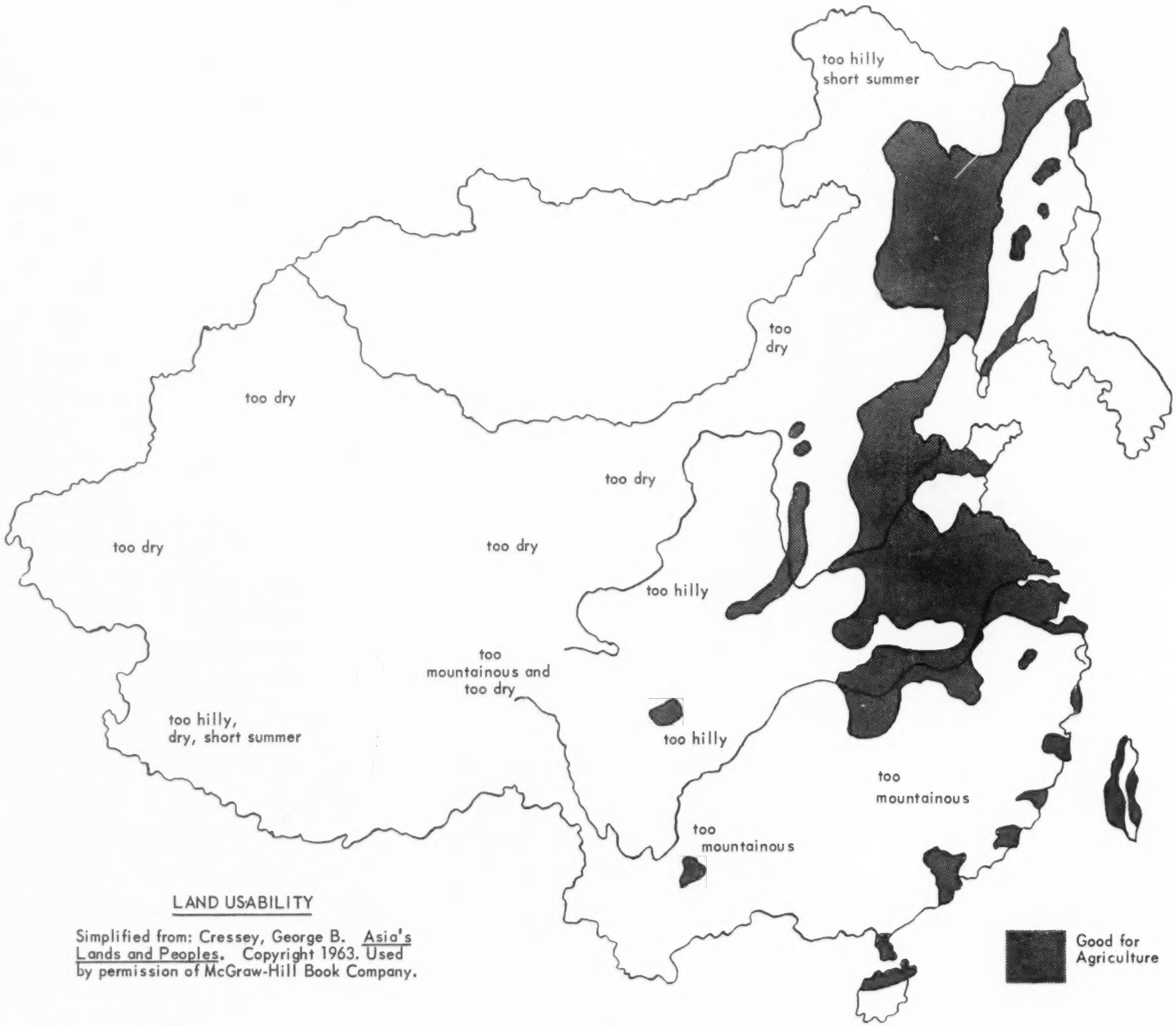

LAND USABILITY

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